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THE HARVARD THEOLOGICAL REVIEW

OCTOBER 1945

NEW DOCUMENT OF THE LAST PAGAN REVIVAL IN THE WEST *Herbert Bloch* 199
E COVERDALE TRANSLATION OF PSALM LXXXIV *Edgar R. Smothers* 245
NOTE ON MATTHEW 6:33 . . . . . *William H. P. Hatch* 270

CAMBRIDGE
HARVARD UNIVERSITY PRESS
LONDON : GEOFFREY CUMBERLEGE
OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS

1945

ued Quarterly $3.00 a Year Single Numbers $1.00

THE HARVARD THEOLOGICAL REVIEW

Issued quarterly by the Faculty of Divinity in
Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts

Editorial Committee

ARTHUR D. NOCK

WILLARD L. SPERRY — GEORGE LA PIANA
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WILLIAM THOMSON

The *Harvard Theological Review* is maintained on the foundation established under the will of Mildred Everett, daughter of Charles Carroll Everett, Bussey Professor of Theology in Harvard University, 1869–1900, and Dean of the Faculty of Divinity, 1878–1900.

The scope of the Review embraces theology, ethics, the history and philosophy of religion, and cognate subjects. It aims to publish investigations, discussions, and reviews which contribute to the enlargement of knowledge or the advance of thought.

Remittances and communications on business matters should be addressed to the *Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts.*

PUBLISHED BY THE

HARVARD UNIVERSITY PRESS

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LONDON: GEOFFREY CUMBERLEGE

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Entered as second-class mail matter January 2, 1908, at the post-office at Boston, Mass. under the Act of Congress of March 3, 1879.

Acceptance for mailing at special postage rate provided for by Section 1103, Act of October 3, 1917, authorized on July 31, 1918.

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HARVARD THEOLOGICAL REVIEW
VOLUME XXXVIII OCTOBER, 1945 NUMBER 4

A NEW DOCUMENT OF THE LAST PAGAN REVIVAL IN THE WEST, 393–394 A.D.[1]

HERBERT BLOCH
HARVARD UNIVERSITY

I

DURING the summer of 1938 an important discovery was made in Ostia. In the area at the west of the magnificent Horrea Epagathiana was excavated a temple dedicated to Hercules Invictus according to an altar set in its pronaos.[2] Although inscriptions and works of art referring to Hercules had come to light in Ostia before, these findings in themselves [3] were not sufficient evidence to indicate the existence of an important cult of Hercules in Ostia. So the discovery of a large temple of Hercules came as a complete surprise.

The podium of the temple is well enough preserved to establish beyond any doubt the date of the original structure. It belongs to the age of Sulla,[4] in which also the grandiose sanctuary of Hercules Invictus in Tivoli and the more modest temple of the same god in Cori were built; it is contemporary with the temples of Fortuna Primigenia in Palestrina and of Iuppiter Anxur in Terracina. It was built then after the port of Ostia had been devastated by the revengeful Marius upon his return in 87 B.C.[5]

[1] I wish to express my appreciation to Professor Guido Calza, Director of the excavations at Ostia, for having allowed me to publish and discuss the inscription of Numerius Proiectus in this periodical, and to Professor Arthur D. Nock for many helpful suggestions.

[2] First official notice of the discovery was given by G. Calza, Gnomon XIII (1938), 106 f. and Le Arti I (1939), 388 f.; cf. G. Becatti, Il culto di Ercole ad Ostia ed un nuovo rilievo votivo, Bull. della Comm. Archeol. Com. LXVII (1939), 37 ff. A. W. Van Buren, Am. J. Arch. XLIII (1939), 515, fig. 8. H. Fuhrmann, Arch. Anz. LV (1940), 25 ff.

[3] They are all collected by Lily R. Taylor, The Cults of Ostia, 1912, 36 f.; cf. Becatti, loc. cit., 37 f.

[4] Becatti, loc. cit., 39.

[5] Also the city walls of Ostia go back to Sulla.

Beyond the podium nothing remains of the Republican period. Possible traces of repairs may be attributed to the first half of the first century of our era. But what of the walls still stands originated in the time of Trajan when almost the whole quarter in which the temple is situated was rebuilt, probably after one of the destructive fires which were so frequent in the history of ancient cities.[6]

The inscription on the altar says:

DEO ·
INVICTO · HERCVLI ·
HOSTILIVS · ANTIPATER
· V · P · PRAEF · ANN ·
CVRAT · REI · PVBLIC · OST

= *Deo Invicto Herculi, Hostilius Antipater, v(ir) p(erfectissimus), praef(ectus) ann(onae), curat(or) rei public(ae) Ost(iensis).*[7]

Since the altar had previously been used as the base of a statue of P. Flavius Priscus, a dignitary of the time of Gallienus, the *terminus post quem* for the inscription of Hostilius Antipater is the year of Gallienus' death 268 A.D.,[8] although it is likely that the base was not used again immediately after this date. On the other hand, *vir perfectissimus* as title of the *praefectus annonae* was replaced by *vir clarissimus* apparently during the reign of Constantine the Great: the *praefectus annonae* Aurelius Victorianus calls himself *v. p.* in an inscription in honor of Constantine erected soon after the battle of Saxa Rubra (312 A.D.; CIL XIV 131 = Dessau, ILS 687), while L. Crepereius Madalianus, who held office sometime between Constantine's death,

[6] In a test below the pavement of the cella made in January 1939, a broken roof tile was discovered with the stamp of L. Flavius Philippus, CIL XV 1, 1154 b, whose stamps have been found in the first ship of Nemi. He worked therefore in the time of Caligula and Claudius. However, the nature of the discovery of the stamped brick does not preclude the possibility that it was used as second-hand material. The restoration in the time of Trajan is certain, for in the remains of the walls of the cella the brickstamp CIL XV, 1, 60 was found *in situ*, which is one of the characteristic stamps of the Bath of Trajan.

[7] The inscription has been briefly transcribed by Calza, Le Arti, I, 388, and by Becatti, loc. cit., 39.

[8] The mutilated inscription of P. Flavius Priscus is hitherto unpublished; since it does not contribute to the problem here discussed, its publication will be reserved to another place. On Flavius Priscus, *patronus coloniae Ostiensis*, cf. CIL XIV S I, 4452, 5335, 5340.

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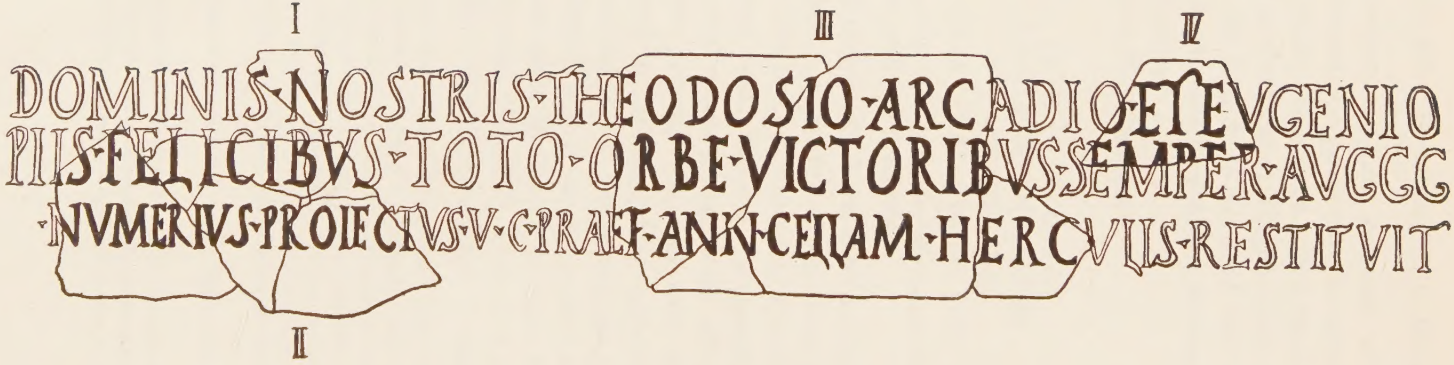
I
III
IV
DOMINIS·NOSTRIS·THEODOSIO·ARCADIO·ET·EVGENIO
PIIS·FELICIBVS·TOTO·ORBE·VICTORIBVS·SEMPER·AVGG
·NVMERIVS·PROIECTVS·V·C·PRAEF·ANN·CELLAM·HERCVLIS·RESTITVIT
II

7 A.D., and the year 341 A.D., already is called *vir clarissimus*.[9] ostilius Antipater is not known otherwise, unless an inscrip- on also from Ostia, CIL XIV S 1, 4417 refers to him

A N O · (*litterae leviter erasae*)
ANTIPA[t

he cognomen Antipater is so rare that one is inclined to re- ore the second line [*Hostilius*] Antipa[*ter*]; in the first line ıe person addressed in the inscription was possibly mentioned; ıt because of a C or O that follows . . . *ano*, not an emperor ke Aurelian or Maximian.

The altar belongs therefore in the period 268–312/337 A.D.[10] is regrettable that its date cannot be determined more ex- ctly. One would like to know whether or not it was set under Maximianus Herculius (286–305 A.D.), whose special con- lection with Hercules would make the dedication by an high fficial particularly interesting.

On September 16, 19, and October 15, 1938, fragments of a marble inscription were found in excavating the continuation f the *via degli Horrea Epagathiana*, near the so-called Pantheon, nd not far from the Temple of Hercules.

Measurements of the four fragments (see fig.):
I: Height, 0.094 m.; Width, 0.09 m.
II: Height, 0.23 m.; Width, 0.515 m.
III: Height, 0.31 m.; Width, 0.62 m.
IV: Height, 0.14 m.; Width, 0.235 m.
Thickness, 0.024–0.025 m.

The original dimensions of the inscription were about 0.31 m. × 1.9 m.
Height of letters: line 1, 0.064 m.; line 2, 0.069 m.; line 3, 0.058 m.

The inscription reads as follows:[11]

[Domini]s n[ostris Th]eodosio Arca[di]o et Eu[genio]
[pi]is felicibus [toto] orbe victoribus semper [Aug(ustis)]
[. .] Numerius Proiect[us v(ir) c(larissimus) pra]ef(ectus) ann(onae)
cellam Hercu[lis restituit]

[9] CIL VI 1151 = Dessau, ILS 707 and CIL XIV S I, 4449. O. Hirschfeld, Philol. XXIX (1870), 48; cf. E. Stein, Geschichte des spätrömischen Reiches, I, 185, n. 3.

[10] Fuhrmann, Arch. Anz. LV (1940), 426 dates the inscription at the end of the ourth century on the ground of the "Schriftcharakter." The evidence discussed above n the text excludes definitely Fuhrmann's opinion. As to the "Schriftcharakter" of he inscription, I can only affirm that it is totally different from that of the numerous nscriptions of the last quarter of the fourth century which have come to light in Ostia.

[11] The inscription was shortly mentioned by Becatti, loc. cit., 39.

Only a few insignificant details are uncertain in the proposed restoration. Fr. I establishes the first two words beyond doubt. *Piis felicibus*, standard epitheta of the Roman Emperor, introduced by Commodus in 185 A.D., used to follow directly the name of the emperor at the end of the fourth century. This makes it certain that the first line ends with *Eugenio* and that the second starts with *piis felicibus*. There is no *ac* to be expected between *felicibus* and *toto*; *victor* is really considered as a noun. *Ac* (or *et*) occurs regularly in the formula (*pii felices*) *victores ac triumfatores semper Augusti*, e.g., Dessau, ILS 769 (364–378 A.D.), 785 (383–392 A.D.). An analogy to the Ostia inscription is found in an inscription from the Forum Romanum (CIL VI 36956 = Dessau, ILS 8948, 364–378 A.D.): *p(io)* [*f(elici)*] *toto orbe victor*[*i*] *ac triumfatori semper Augusto*.[12] It is not possible to insert *ac triumfatoribus* between *victoribus* and *semper* on account of the length of the first line. In the last line the first name of Numerius Proiectus is lacking, consisting of two letters rather than of one, probably Fl(avius). The indication of his rank, *v. c.*, is an obligatory restoration. *Cella Herculis* is equivalent to *templum Herculis*; cf. *Acta Fratrum Arvalium* of 213 A.D. (CIL VI 2086, 23) *ante cellam Iunonis reg*(*inae*). While the meaning of the last word is clear, one may remain undecided between *restituit* and *reparavit*.

Eugenius was emperor from August 22, 392 to September 6, 394. The date of the inscription can be narrowed down to 393 or 394 as will be shown. The text of the new document offers no difficulty, but to understand its significance it will be necessary to interpret it in the framework of its historical background, which is formed by the dramatic struggle between the old and the new religions. The final phase of this struggle fills the years from 382 to 394.[13]

[12] On the introduction of the epithets *pius felix* in the title of the emperor by Commodus cf. J. M. Heer, Der historische Wert der vita Commodi, Philol. Suppl. IX (1901), 89. On the position of *ac* cf. also the address used by Symmachus in his *relationes*, e.g., rel. XII 1: *domini imperatores Valentiniane, Theodosi et Arcadi inclyti victores ac triumphatores semper Augusti*.

[13] The literature on this last struggle between paganism and Christianity is very large. G. Boissier, La fin du paganisme II, 1891, 155 ff. is still valuable, although the position of Praetextatus is gravely misrepresented, 265: Praetextat ne fut guère qu'une décoration pour les païens de Rome. S. Dill, Roman Society in the Last Century of the Western Empire, 3 ff. G. Rauschen, Jahrb. der christlichen Kirche unter dem Kaiser Theodosius d. Gr., 119 ff. O. Seeck, Geschichte des Untergangs der antiken Welt, V, 217 ff. J. Geffcken, Der Ausgang des griechisch-römischen Heidentums, 90 ff. 141 ff. E. Stein, Gesch. des spätröm. Reiches, I, 313 f. 326 ff. P. de Labriolle, La réaction païenne, 335 ff. F. H. Dudden, The Life and Times of St. Ambrose, I–II, 22 ff. 214 ff. 371 ff. 412 ff. J. Wytzes, Der Streit um den Altar der Viktoria, Amsterdam, 1936, 26 ff. A. Alföldi, A Festival of Isis in Rome, Diss. Pannonicae, ser. II, fasc. VII (1937), 30 ff. J. A. McGeachy, Jr., Quintus Aurelius Symmachus and the Senatorial Aristocracy of the West, Diss. Chicago, 1942, 129 ff.

II

After Julian the Apostate's attempt to instill new life into e old religion had been cut short by his sudden death, a policy tolerance prevailed. This came to an end when in 382 A.D. e Emperor Gratian withdrew the funds which maintained e public cults of the Roman state and ordered the altar of ctoria removed from the assembly hall of the senate. He d earlier, probably in the first days of 379 A.D., refused the le of *pontifex maximus*, the first emperor to do so, yet only s second action must be considered a decisive blow against e ancient religion. It was actually regarded so by that werful group at which it had been aimed: the majority of e Roman aristocracy which still upheld the cause of paganm.[14]

Thirty years ago, Dwight Nelson Robinson in an important ticle [15] called attention to the complex character of the pagan ovement of the late fourth century in which two trends are articularly outstanding: one of them centered in the Oriental lts and tried to oppose them to Christianity, the other one as simply a clinging to the traditional forms of the Roman lt "because of a sincere belief in their proved excellence, but rgely also because of their very antiquity." Although Robson's conclusions have been generally accepted little was done develop them further. Symmachus remained the central gure, a position which he owes at least partly to the fact that is writings are relatively well preserved. He is usually repreented as the typical member of the Roman aristocracy in that ge. This is certainly not true in what concerns his religious eliefs.

When in 382 A.D. the pagan party was suddenly confronted ith the task of defending its rights against attack, its unisputed leader was not Symmachus, but Vettius Agorius

[14] On the famous controversy resulting from the removal of the altar of Victoria cf. articularly the special study by Wytzes referred to in the preceding note. The imortance of the financial side of the question has been lately more and more emphasized.

[15] Symmachus and the Pagan Revival, Transact. Am. Philol. Ass. XLVI (1915), 7 ff. The quoted passage is found on p. 100.

Praetextatus.[16] More than anyone else among the members of the Roman aristocracy he had been close to Julian, who upon his ascent to the throne had made him proconsul of Achaia (Amm. XXII 7.6). This was a position which, in view of Julian's preference for men from the East and in view of his attachment for Greece, was meant to be a special distinction. Praetextatus was still proconsul of Achaia when he successfully opposed Valentinian I's law against nocturnal rites (September 364).[17] So much did he enjoy this emperor's confidence that he was made *praefectus urbi* about the middle of 367 when Rome was dominated by the bloody fights between the followers of Damasus and Ursinus, both pretenders to the papal throne, a very difficult assignment which demanded a high degree of political tact.[18] His integrity and impartiality won him the respect even of his opponents and the love of the Roman people. In the enthusiastic appraisal which Ammianus Marcellinus (XXVII 9.8) has given of Praetextatus' administration he mentions a decree which ordered that *aedes sacrae* should not be connected by walls with private buildings, a measure designed to give the temples a more dignified appearance.

One monument of Praetextatus' activity as *praefectus urbi* is known to every visitor of Rome: he restored the *Porticus Deorum Consentium* and its statues on the Forum Romanum.[19] Was this an act to restore the cult of the twelve gods in the form in which it had been held during the Republic and in the early Empire?

Two inscriptions give us the *cursus honorum* of Praetextatus, including his priesthoods; one of them is the epitaph of Praetextatus and his wife Fabia Aconia Paulina. It contains two

[16] Fundamental, as in general for the prosopography of this period, Seeck, ed. Symmachus, MG. Auct. Ant. VI, 1883, LXXXIII ff. J. Nistler, Vettius Agorius Praetextatus, Klio X (1910), 462 ff. is but an industrious collection of material, which adds near to nothing to Seeck's treatment. — The aspects of Praetextatus emphasized in the present study have been almost completely neglected.

[17] Cod. Theod. IX 16. 7 (Seeck, Regesten der Kaiser und Päpste, 217); Zos. IV 3.

[18] E. Caspar, Geschichte des Papsttums I, 196 ff.

[19] CIL VI 102 = Dessau, ILS 4003. Platner and Ashby, A Topographical Dictionary of Ancient Rome, 1929, 421 f. G. Wissowa, Religion und Kultus der Römer ², 99, n. 2. Geffcken, Ausgang, 143.

ems in which husband and wife address each other for the t time.[20] According to the list of priesthoods (see appended art, no. (7)), he was a member of three out of the four cient *sacerdotum amplissima collegia*: *augur*, *pontifex Vestae*,[21] *indecimvir*. The prominent position of the priesthood of Sol striking. The deities which follow are closely connected th each other: Hercules and Liber and the mysteries of eusis. The cult of the Hecate of Aegina (*hierophanta*) forms e transition to the last group of oriental gods, Sarapis,[22] agna Mater and Mithras (*neocorus*, *tauroboliatus*, *pater trum*). His wife took part in all his religious endeavors: *te te cunctis imbuor mysteriis*, she says; like her husband, she as initiated in the mysteries of Eleusis, Lerna and Aegina, nich Praetextatus had successfully once protected against e Christian government. Magna Mater and Isis figure as presenting the eastern cults in Paulina's list.

In her poem she praises Praetextatus' knowledge of Greek nd Latin philosophical and sacral literature:

8 ff. Tu namque quidquid lingua utraq(ue) est proditum
cura soforum, porta quis caeli patet,
vel quae periti condidere carmina,
vel quae solutis vocibus sunt edita,
meliora reddis quam legendo sumpseras.

n fact he translated Themistius' paraphrases of Aristotle's rior and Posterior Analytics.[23] This activity links him once nore with the circle around Julian the Apostate; on the other and it ranks him with the men who, like Boethius after him,

[20] CIL VI 1779 = Dessau, ILS 1259 = Anthol. lat. II, 1, ed. Buecheler, no. 111. a this inscription cf. also Boissier, Fin du paganisme II, 284 f. De Labriolle, Réaction Jenne, 349 f.

[21] After Aurelian introduced in Rome *pontifices Solis*, the members of the ancient llege of *pontifices* assumed the title *pontifex Vestae*, *pontifex maior*, and the like; cf. Wissowa, Relig. u. Kultus d. Röm., 522. A. D. Nock, Harv. Theol. Rev. XXIII (1930,) 59.

[22] The proof that Praetextatus was a priest of Sarapis is given in the Appendix, below, pp. 242 ff.

[23] K. Praechter, Die Philosophie des Altertums, in Ueberweg's Grundriss I[12], 1926, 48, 651. He may be also the author of the treatise De decem categoriis which is preserved in the Corpus of St. Augustine's writings. Paulina's words suggest that he had part in salvaging works of Latin literature by having them copied and preparing better editions; cf. in general below, p. 240.

communicated to the Middle Ages the teaching of the grea Greek philosophers.

Paulina continues:

> 13 ff. Sed ista parva: tu pius m[y]stes sacris
> teletis reperta mentis arcano premis,
> divumque numen multiplex *doctus* colis.

Paulina's characterization of her husband's "learned" piet is fully confirmed by the work which offers deepest insight int the life and thought of Rome's pagan nobility, Macrobius Saturnalia. In these *convivia* held on the eve and on the thre days of the *Saturnalia* in the houses of Praetextatus, Flavianu and Symmachus, the last Romans have made an appearanc more worthy of them than the impression to be gathered fron the correspondence of Symmachus.[24] The author of th Saturnalia belonged to this circle not only on account of hi literary and religious interests, but also socially as one of th high officials of the Empire.[25] The work is dominated by th figure of Praetextatus. "Although everyone present excels i

[24] Macrobius' Saturnalia has been unduly neglected by historians and philologist alike. In concentrating on the invaluable material that he preserved and in huntin down his sources one was apt to forget Macrobius' merits as a writer and his ability a presenting a picture of his society. Wessner's article in PW s.v. Macrobius is chara teristic of this tendency. It never occurs to him that something in Macrobius' wor may be attributed to Macrobius himself. In the fifth volume of Seeck's famous histor of this period Macrobius is not even mentioned. A reaction against this attitude found in T. Whittaker's book on Macrobius (Cambridge 1923) and in K. Mras' stud Macrobius' Kommentar zu Ciceros Somnium, S. B. Preuss. Akad. 1933, 232 ff. Bu both authors are chiefly interested in problems of philosophy.

The opinion on Symmachus' letters has been unfavorable throughout. Dudden' verdict (I 39) that Symmachus was "an indefatigable writer of the dullest epistles in the Latin language" will hardly find an opponent, and Boissier's statement (II 157 "jamais on n'a tant écrit pour dire si peu de chose," is not unfair. One should remem ber, however, that the collection has been severely purged by Symmachus' son when he edited it soon after his father's death. By eliminating all politically objectionabl letters he undoubtedly deprived us of some of the most interesting letters in the cor respondence.

[25] He is in all probability identical with the *vicarius Hispaniarum* Macrobius, t whom the law against vandalism Cod. Theod. XVI 10. 15 (Seeck, Regesten, 298) i addressed, and Dill is right in assuming that Macrobius himself may have evoked thi law (Roman Society in the Last Cent., 38). In 410 he reached the high position o *proconsul Africae* and in 422 he was *praepositus sacri cubiculi* (Cod. Theod. XI 28. 6 and VI 8. 1). Sundwall's agnosticism (Weströmische Studien, 98, no. 284, and 139, no. 467) is unwarranted.

ual learning," says Avienus, one of the interlocutors (I 7. 17), evertheless Praetextatus who possesses a unique knowledge sacred matters (*sacrorum*) can reveal to you the origin of e cult (sc. of Saturn), etc." Praetextatus is called *praesul nium sacrorum* according to the will of the Gods (I 17. 1) and st appropriately *princeps religiosorum* (I 11. 1). Particu-ly revealing is the effect of Praetextatus' great oration on l as described by Macrobius:

> Hic cum Praetextatus fecisset loquendi finem, omnes in eum adfixis vultibus admirationem stupore prodebant. Dein laudare hic memoriam, ille *doctrinam*, cuncti religionem, adfirmantes hunc esse unum *arcanae deorum naturae conscium*, qui solus divina et adsequi animo et eloqui posset ingenio (I 24. 1).

is corresponds almost exactly to Paulina's praise in lines 13– quoted above.

The speech which provokes so enthusiastic a response in the dience is, from a religious point of view, the most interesting ction of the Saturnalia. Here Praetextatus seems to reveal s true creed and it is amazing how well Macrobius succeeded understanding it. Avienus had asked Praetextatus: "What the reason that we venerate the Sun sometimes as Apollo, metimes as Liber, sometimes under a variety of other names? ease explain me the reason of so great variety in the names of e deity." (I 17. 1) Praetextatus presents his thesis as follows:

> Nam quod omnes paene deos, dumtaxat qui sub caelo sunt, ad solem referunt, non vana superstitio sed ratio divina commendat (I 17. 2).

he various qualities of the Sun have given the names for the ds. To prove this thesis Praetextatus shows how the gods *ad lem certa et arcana ratione referuntur*. The *pontifex Solis* offers Solar theology in which Apollo, Minerva, Liber, Mars, Mer-rius, Salus and Aesculapius, Hercules, Sarapis, Adonis, Attis, siris, the Zodiac, Nemesis, Pan, Saturnus, Iuppiter and Adad e identified with the Sun.[26] We witness the same mixture of

[26] Wessner is certainly correct in asserting that the source question for the speech Praetextatus is not yet satisfactorily solved (PW XIV 196; cf. M. Schedler, Die ilosophie des Macrobius, etc., Münster, 1916, 98). But this is not the decisive oblem; it is important that we have here the theology of Praetextatus and of his lowers. However certain it may be that Macrobius and Praetextatus have used ler material, it would be rash to assume that an earlier treatise was simply excerpted

Roman, Greek, and Oriental cults which is characteristic of the list of Praetextatus' priesthoods. The work most closely related to Praetextatus' speech in the Saturnalia is Julian's oration on Helios in which exactly the same tendency prevails, to subordinate all other deities to Helios. But Praetextatus' demonstration is more elaborate and more far-reaching.

His special interest for the *Porticus Deorum Consentium* appears now in another light: when Praetextatus restored this sanctuary he did it not only in order to preserve an ancient and venerable building — Symmachus might have been satisfied with this — but because the cult of the twelve gods appealed to his own tendency to see in the many traditional gods the *numen multiplex* — to use Paulina's words — of the one god whose power he described so eloquently in the Saturnalia.[27]

But the restoration of the *Porticus Deorum Consentium* by Praetextatus can also be related to another significant document of that time, to Sallustius' treatise Concerning the Gods and the Universe in which the existence of the twelve gods is both emphasized and interpreted from the neoplatonic point of view of the author.[28] Although Sallustius' work is "not in any sense an official manifesto," it originated in the circle of Julian: it is at least partially inspired by and written in support of Julian's ideas.[29]

Thus everything, the cult of the twelve gods,[30] the Solar

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here, be it Porphyrius' Περὶ Ἡλίου (Ausgang, 267) or one of Iamblich's treatises, as Geffcken and Wissowa believed; cf. also F. Cumont, Die orientalischen Religionen im röm. Heidentum, 1931³, 310, n. 24. — It is possible to use Praetextatus' speech in the Saturnalia as at least ideally true of the man. This opinion apparently is also held by Cumont, op. cit., 188. The views put forward in the speech agree so closely with everything we know about Praetextatus that Macrobius must have either used a lost treatise by Praetextatus himself or gathered his information from people who had an excellent knowledge of Praetextatus and his ideas.

[27] Paulina's *numen multiplex* finds a striking analogy in Praetextatus' reference to the *solis multiplex potestas* (Saturn. I 22. 1). For the monotheistic character of Praetextatus' solar theology, cf. Cumont, op. cit., 191 and in general Nock, Conversion, 159.

[28] A. D. Nock, Sallustius, LVII.

[29] Nock, Sall., CIII. On the identification of the author with Julian's friend see Nock, Sall., CI; Latte, Litteris IV (1927), 156 ff. The treatise was composed in 363 A.D.: Nock, Sall., CII.

[30] A connection between Praetextatus and the cult of the twelve gods can also be seen in his remarks Saturnal. I 23. 5 f.

neology, Mithras, Magna Mater and the ardent support of the Greek mysteries join Praetextatus with Julian. Therefore he became the important link between Julian's revival of the old religion and the final pagan revival at the end of the fourth century. The first of these movements was as clearly centered in the East as the second was in the West.

Unlike Praetextatus, Q. Aurelius Symmachus had not been imbued with the lofty ideas of Julian. He knew no other objective than the preservation of tradition. The sentence "*consuetudinis amor magnus est*" is indeed his leading principle.[31] It may be supplemented by Rufius Albinus' saying in the Saturnalia (III 14. 2): *vetustas quidem nobis semper, si sapimus, adoranda est.* Symmachus' efforts in this respect are not rarely grotesque. For it is nothing but grotesque to see him trying to persuade various high officials to impose on a Vestal Virgin who had violated her vows the punishment used during the Republic.[32] His letters reveal no interest for the Eastern cults and his rôle in 384 as spokesman for the pagan party is entirely in agreement with his religious beliefs: he argues for the status quo and nothing else. In this case he was the right man. Usually he had at his command only a small minority of religious reactionaries in the pagan party. But his relations with Praetextatus were extremely friendly and he did not hesitate to recognize Praetextatus' leadership. Only after the latter's death did it come to a clash between Symmachus and the followers of Praetextatus (see below, p. 217).

Thus the contrast between Symmachus and Praetextatus can be reduced to a contrast between Symmachus and Julian, as formulated by A. D. Nock (Sallustius, CIII n. 19): "Yet Symmachus merely asked for toleration of the survivals of a dead faith, while Julian sought to make a serious revival."

[31] Rel. III 4. Cf. in general McGeachy, Symmachus, 135 ff. Wytzes, Streit, 32. His conservatism was not limited to the religious field. In his relatio IV he asks Theodosius to withdraw a favor conferred on him and his office (*praefectura urbis*) in the form of a ceremonial carriage: *submovete vehiculum, cuius cultus insignior est; illud maluimus cuius usus antiquior* (IV 3). The *superbia* of Tarquinius and of Camillus serves him as a warning, the modesty of Publicola as a model. Cf. on this relatio Wytzes, Streit, 34; W. Ensslin, Carpentum oder Carruca, Klio XXXII (1939), 89 ff.

[32] Epist. IX 147 f. Wytzes, Streit, 30. McGeachy, Symmachus, 136 f.

The *cursus honorum* of the third leader of the pagan party, Virius Nicomachus Flavianus, as revealed in an inscription set in his honor by Symmachus' son, is worded deliberately as a counterpart to a dedication to Symmachus: [33]

Dessau, ILS 2946: Eusebii. Q. Aur. Symmacho v. c.	quaest.,	praet.	
" ILS 2947: Virio Nicomacho Flaviano v. c.	quaest.,	praet.	
pontifici maiori,	correctori Lucaniae et Brittiorum,	comiti ordinis tertii,	
pontif. maiori,	consulari Siciliae,	vicario Africae,	
procons. Africae,	praef. urb.,	cos. ordinario,	oratori
quaestori intra Palatium,	praef. praet. iterum,	cos. ord.,	historico
disertissimo,	Q. Fab. Memm(ius) Symmachus v. c.	patri optimo.	
disertissimo,	Q. Fab. Memmius Symmachus v. c.	prosocero optimo.	

The addition of any other sacred office possibly held by Flavianus would have upset the balance of the two inscriptions. Flavianus was a cousin of Symmachus. A whole book of Symmachus' correspondence (II) is devoted to his letters to Flavianus and bears witness to their friendship. And yet it would be wrong to conclude that Flavianus was an adherent of Symmachus in religious matters. The rôle which he played in the revival of 393–394 A.D. proves beyond doubt that his religious interests were not confined to membership in the college of the *pontifices*. But in an inscription set in his honor by someone else it was fitting to include in his *cursus honorum* only the *sacerdotia publica*.[33a] If Flavianus, e.g., was a *tauroboliatus* or a priest of Isis, Symmachus' son was under no obligation to mention these things. They were Flavianus' private affair which he could and undoubtedly did divulge in inscriptions set by himself. Yet none has survived.

As to his record up to 382, it is noticeable that his career started, like that of Symmachus, after Julian's death. As *vicarius Africae* in 377 he had incurred a rebuke by Gratian for favoring the Donatists against the Orthodox Church. But his main activity as a champion of the pagan cause clearly belongs in the following decade.

[33] Both inscriptions were found in Symmachus' house on the Caelius in Rome. On Flavianus see Seeck, PW VI, 2506 ff.

[33a] For an analogous inscription of Praetextatus in which not one of his priesthoods is mentioned cf. CIL VI 1777 = Dessau, ILS 1258.

While little exact information about Flavianus' religious iliations is available, we know more about a number of his lleagues in the body of the *pontifices*; in addition, there exist igraphical records of other men and women of high rank hich all contribute to our knowledge of the last twenty-five ars of official paganism. Their policy was to advertise in ese inscriptions, especially in those of a religious character d in epitaphs, their various religious activities and achieve-ents. The evidence, so far never systematically collected,[36] is fficient to prove that the vast majority of active pagan sena-rs followed the lead of Praetextatus, not only in their tendency hold more than one of the ancient Roman priesthoods, but so in their interest in Oriental cults. The appended chart monstrates this better than any description. The first elve names indicate the members of the *collegium pontificum* the period from 370 to 390 as far as they are known to us. here follow seven *clarissimi viri* who were not *pontifices inores*. The list is concluded by four *clarissimae feminae*.

The roll of priesthoods of Alfenius Ceionius Julianus Kame-us (11) strikingly resembles that of Praetextatus, a fact which comes especially significant if we remember that Kamenius as a descendant of the emperor Julian's grandfather.[37] Of the *ntifices* listed eight apparently were in office in 382: Praetexta-us, Symmachus, Flavianus, Albinus, Ceionius Julianus Kame-us, Clodius Flavianus, and in all probability Rufius Ceionius abinus and Ragonius Venustus, perhaps also Petronius Apol-dorus. From the inscription CIL VI 2158 = Dessau, ILS 944, according to which the college of the *pontifices* repaired e mansion of the *Salii Palatini* at their own expense (obvi-

[36] Cf. the sketchy references in Robinson, Transact. Am. Philol. Ass. XLVI (1915), Geffcken, Ausgang, 144 and 146. De Labriolle, Réaction païenne, 349.

[37] It is noteworthy that the lists of priesthoods held by Kamenius in all three of his inscriptions are practically identical in contents and order, even in the two set up in honor by people outside his family. This shows that the list was given out by him-self or by his widow. The epitaph, Dessau, ILS 1265, put up by his widow contains a poem, whereas she addresses her husband according to the fashion of Fabia Paulina's poem in Praetextatus' epitaph, which latter undoubtedly influenced that of Kamenius. He apparently was a grandson of Ceionius Julianus Camenius, consul in 325, and thus cousin of the emperor Julian who also was a grandson of Ceionius Julianus Camenius; Seeck, PW III, 1863 f.

ously after Gratian's decree of 382), two more names can b added, namely those of the *promagistri* Plotius Acilius Lucillu and Vitrasius Praetextatus. These two men are otherwis unknown, although the latter was probably related to Mem mius *Vitrasius* Orfitus, Symmachus' father-in-law, no. (1) i the chart.

Besides Symmachus, only one of the *pontifices* listed, namely Albinus, held but one priesthood, the pontificate.[36] His numer

[36] The full name of this Albinus was Publilius Ceionius Caecina Albinus. He be longed to one of the most illustrious families of the fourth century, the Ceionii, a famil which could boast (n. 35 above) of having had an emperor (Julian) in its ranks. Thei genealogy has been treated by Seeck, Symmachus, CLXXVII ff. and PW III, 1858 ff on the basis of the assumption that the names Albinus and Volusianus are used alter nately generation after generation. He overlooked the important inscription CIL V 512 = Dessau, ILS 4154 (in our chart (17)), in which the dedicant Ceionius Rufiu Volusianus, *ex vicario Asi(a)e*, calls himself the son of Ceionius Rufius Volusianus, *v. c et inlustris ex praefecto praetorio et ex praefecto urbi*, which offices the latter held in 35 and 365 respectively. Therefore this is a case in which a Volusianus was the son of Volusianus, in contrast to Seeck's "law." In addition, it has long been known that th pontifex Albinus had a son of the same name, Caecina Decius Albinus, a fact whic has been neither denied nor explained by Seeck (PW III, 1864 f.). Like his father, he takes part in the conversations of the Saturnalia: cf. especially Saturnal. I 2. 3. Unde these circumstances, both, Seeck's "law" and part of his stemma of the Ceionii hav to be relegated into the realm of phantasy. That the *pontifex* Albinus actually was th son of Ceionius Rufius Volusianus, also called Lampadius, as Seeck assumes, is sug gested only by his name Caecina which may have been given him in honor of his mothe Caecinia Lolliana. If this hypothesis is accepted, the descendants of Lampadius — as far as they interest us here — can be represented as follows (the numbers in parenthe sis refer to our chart, the numbers which precede the names refer to Seeck's stemma PW III, 1862).

24. C. Ceionius Rufius Volusianus qui et Lampadius cf. (17) ~ **25.** Caecinia Lolliana (20) cf. (17)

?**30.** Publilius Ceionius Caecina Albinus (10) —. Ceionius Rufius Volusianus (17)

29. Lollianus (Amm. Marc. XXVIII 1. 26) —. Sabina (21)

36. Caecina Decius Albinus, praef. urbi 401

37. Ceionius Contucius Gregorius, cons. Piceni 400

38. Laeta ~ Toxotius

Paula

There must be some connection between Sabina (21) and the *pontifex* (5) in whose name *Sabinus* figures, whether it be in the name of his father, if one reads *Rufius Caecionius, Caecioni Sabini filius, v. c.*, or in his own name as Seeck assumes, or in both as I should like to suggest, since he calls himself later in the inscription *nobilis in causis formas celsusque Sabinus*. Hence I would read *Ruf(ius) Cae(i)oni(us) (Sabinus), Cae(ioni) Sabini f., v. c.* This involves, at any rate, a less radical change than that sug-

s inscriptions in Rome and Africa do not indicate other iesthoods which he may have held. His restoration of the rticos of the Capitolium in Thimgad (CIL VIII 2388 = Des- 1, ILS 5554) is quite in line with what one would expect from *pontifex*. Therefore it is significant that Macrobius intro- ces him in the Saturnalia as follows (I 2. 15): *eo venerunt urelius Symmachus et Caecina Albinus, cum aetate tum etiam oribus ac studiis inter se coniunctissimi.* It seems to be certain at Albinus was one of the few followers of Symmachus. The mous description of Albinus which St. Jerome gave about 401 pist. 107. 1) refers to the *pontifex* Albinus. He rejoices in hold- g his little Christian granddaughter on her knee and listening her stammering cries of "Alleluia." At that time St. Jerome uld say of him "*candidatus est fidei quem filiorum et nepotum edens turba circumdat.*" By adding "I think even Juppiter uld have believed in Christ, if he had had such relatives," he ce more alludes to Albinus' pontificate. If Albinus had been fanatical follower of an Eastern cult,[37] St. Jerome would rdly have spoken of him in this way. At any rate, he was ght: it would have been easier to convert Iuppiter than ithras, Isis or Magna Mater.

III

When in 382 the stroke against the pagan religion fell, its llowers in the senate were determined to offer resistance. hey sent an embassy led by Symmachus to Gratian, but the nperor refused to receive it. The man who succeeded in per- uading Gratian to rebuke the delegation was Ambrose, the shop of Milan, the greatest political leader whom the Church ad so far produced. He undoubtedly had inspired the anti-

sted by Seeck. So the *pontifex* Sabinus (5) and Sabina (21) were undoubtedly rela- es. Seeck is probably right in identifying him with the Sabinus mentioned by Sym- achus (see appended chart, no. (5), remarks). A new and more cautious treatment the Ceionii is needed to correct Seeck's errors and to fill the gaps left by him, also hers, not mentioned here.

[37] The fact that he restored in Cirta *speleum cum signis et ornamentis* (CIL VIII 75) can be interpreted as an action to strengthen paganism in general; it does not ove that he himself was a worshipper of Mithras or of some other Eastern deity (cf. Robert, Mél. Bidez, 795 ff.).

pagan actions of Gratian since 379. That he was more than equal to the pagan leaders of the aristocracy is in part due to his own origin: he belonged to the class of Roman aristocrats and in fact was a relative of Symmachus.[38]

As if the ancient gods wished to show their power a last time it happened in the following year that a grave famine hit the West and that Gratian lost his life when one of his generals, Maximus, rebelled against him. Symmachus wrote at that time to Flavianus, who lived in retirement in Campania, about the famine (II 7) saying *Dii patrii, facite gratiam neglectorum sacrorum! miseram famem pellite! quamprimum revocet urbs nostra, quos invita dimisit!* He voiced the opinion of many that the gods were punishing Rome for the attack on the national religion.[39] The pagan *comes* Bauto, the most powerful man at the court of Gratian's successor Valentinian II, gave expression to this feeling by having Praetextatus appointed *praefectus praetorio* for Italy and Symmachus *praefectus urbi* (384). It was a remarkable victory for the pagan cause. Praetextatus, in the spirit of his administration of Rome under Valentinian I., obtained an edict by which the emperor empowered the prefect of the city to investigate spoliations of public buildings, i.e. pagan temples (Symm., rel. XXI).

Conditions seemed so favorable to the pagan party that another attempt was made to bring about a withdrawal of the antipagan legislation. The petition of the senate for the return of the subsidies to the public cults and for the restoration of the altar of Victoria was accompanied by the famous *relatio* (III) of Symmachus which he wrote in his capacity as *praefectus urbi*. But it was of course not only his official position which prompted him to expose himself in this way. His action was undertaken with the connivance or even at the instigation of the pagan senators who chose him as their spokesman because he was considered the greatest orator of his time and because he would formulate his case in the way least objectionable to the Chris-

[38] Ambrose is not mentioned by Prudentius in his appraisal of Christian senators of Rome, Contra Symm. I 551–572.

[39] This motive became the most efficient weapon of the last pagans against the Christians, and accordingly the chief theme of the last apologetic treatises of Christian antiquity; see below, p. 240.

an government. And indeed Symmachus refrained from any tack on the Christian religion. On the contrary, the often noted sentence "*uno itinere non potest perveniri ad tam grande secretum*" [40] could be interpreted as a kind of recognition of Christianity. His defense of the Roman cults followed the line that it would be unpatriotic, imprudent and dangerous to part with an association which had proved successful for so many centuries (*Repetimus igitur religionum statum qui rei publicae tam diu profuit* (3)). The *mos parentum* and the fear of retribution by the offended gods are Symmachus' principal arguments. From a theological point of view, the *relatio* is ineffectual. But his plea for tolerance was brilliantly presented, and appealed to the young emperor and to the consistorium, not excluding its Christian members, and almost achieved its purpose.

However, Ambrose was informed of the pagan demarche and its effect. He dispatched a letter to the thirteen year old emperor, in which he threatened him with excommunication if he should grant the senate's request.[41] So the petition was again rejected.

Symmachus himself soon experienced the consequences of the new defeat. As a result of the decree authorizing the investigation of despoilers of temples he was charged at the imperial court in Milan with having tortured Christians and with similar crimes for which the emperor publicly rebuked him. It was not difficult for Symmachus to prove that he had not even started the investigation, and Pope Damasus provided him with an affidavit that no Christian had been harmed. Symmachus' report to the emperor (relatio XXI) shows the weakness of the pagan party and especially of Symmachus. He candidly admits that he had not opened the investigation because he foresaw the consequences. Cleverly he insinuates that his slanderers implicitly criticized the emperor's choice of officials. His representations had the desired effect. The

[40] Rel. III 10. Cf. the special study by Wytzes quoted in n. 13. Nock, Conversion, 60.

[41] *Licebit tibi ad ecclesiam venire, sed illic non invenies sacerdotem, aut invenies resistentem. Quid respondebis sacerdoti dicenti tibi: munera tua non quaerit Ecclesia, quia templa gentilium adornasti?* (Epist. 17. 13 f.).

emperor exonerated him and severely reprimanded Symmachus' enemies (Cod. Theod. I 6. 9).

Before the year had ended, the death of Praetextatus, on whom the consulate for the following year (385) had been bestowed, deprived the pagan aristocracy of their spiritual leader. In the two communications by which he informed the emperors of the death of Praetextatus (rell. X and XI), Symmachus uses eloquent words to stress the loss which the Roman state and he himself had suffered: even the emperors would be unable to find a man similar to the deceased who could take his place.[42] He reports that the people of Rome refused to visit the theater when the news of Praetextatus' death became known. Symmachus' account of the grief of the Roman people is confirmed by a letter of St. Jerome written at this time in which he exultantly remarks that the consul elect is now in Hell, that he who, a few days ago, as one of the highest dignitaries of Rome climbed the Capitol, as if triumphing over enemies, amidst the jubilant applause of the Romans, and whose death deeply moved the whole city, is now in filth and darkness (*sordentibus tenebris*).[43] Symmachus' own reaction to the

[42] Rel. X 1: *Praetextatus vester, Praetextatus bonorum, antiquae probitatis adsertor, invida sorte subtractus est, vir omnium domi forisque virtutum, in cuius locum vestrae quoque aeternitati, quae optimos novit eligere, nimis arduum est similem subrogare.*

[43] Epist. 23, 2. 1 and 3. 2 (to Marcella) (CSEL, vol. LIV, 21): *O rerum quanta mutatio! ille quem ante paucos dies dignitatum omnium culmina praecedebant, qui, quasi de subiectis hostibus triumpharet, Capitolinas ascendit arces, quem plausu quodam et tripudio populus Romanus excepit, ad cuius interitum urbs universa commota est, nunc desolatus est, nudus, non in lacteo caeli palatio, ut uxor commentitur infelix, sed in sordentibus tenebris continetur.* The last remark about Praetextatus' wife refers to some utterance by Fabia Paulina who as the most distinguished pagan lady must have been well known in Rome. It is not surprising therefore that the idea alluded to by St. Jerome is found in the epitaph of Praetextatus set by Paulina (cf. above, n. 20):

38 ff. His nunc ademptis maesta coniunx maceror,
felix, maritum si superstitem mihi
divi dedissent, sed tamen felix, tua
quia sum fuique *postque mortem mox ero.*

In saying that she will be reunited with her husband after death, she implies that he is in heaven — as St. Jerome says. How familiar this conception was to Paulina is shown by v. 9:

cura soforum, porta quis (= *quibus*) *caeli patet.*

St. Jerome may have had knowledge of Paulina's poem before he wrote his letter to Marcella.

ent is most revealing: he asks the emperor to accept his signation.[44] Firstly, because he realized the irretrievable loss hich the pagan party had suffered, but above all it was an adission of his unwillingness to continue the fight on his own. or a fight it was. His reports to the emperor are pathetic cuments of how his Christian subordinates under the leaderip of the *causidicus fori urbanae praefecturae*, Vincentius agonius Celsus, harassed their pagan superior as much as they uld, with Celsus finally indicting before his court the *praectus annonae*, who was a friend of Symmachus and his mediate subordinate, a great insult to Symmachus. Apparitly, Celsus was successful, for he himself succeeded Symmaus' friend as *praefectus annonae*.[45]

While Symmachus was fully aware of the effect of Praetextas' death on the pagan cause, he immediately afterwards gave n example of singular narrow-mindedness within his own rcle. The Vestal Virgins, upon Praetextatus' death, decided set up a statue in honor of this great *pontifex*. The majority the *pontifices*, when consulted, gave their permission, but ymmachus and a small group of his followers raised objecons. He reports to Nicomachus Flavianus, asking him to turn and to support him in this struggle: "I should have adised them that it was not proper for the Virgins to bestow such onors on men, nor, in accordance with tradition, should honors e conferred which neither Numa, the founder, nor Metellus, ne preserver of religion, nor any high priest has ever before eceived. I did not mention this in order that my opinion ould not discourage the zealous followers of our religion, who oted against the tradition. I told them only that the precedent hould be avoided so that an honor justly bestowed in one case

[44] Rel. X 2–3: *Et ille quidem functus est lege naturae, nos vero socios animi sui vesique iudicii tanto dolore confudit, ut otii remedium postulemus. Sileo cetera, quae me on sinunt praefecturam ferre patienter: vel haec una consortis admissio iusta est ad npetrandam vacationem.*

[45] Symm., rel. XXIII. Nicentius who was *praefectus annonae* Febr. 1, 385 (Seeck, Regesten, 266) may have been the immediate predecessor of Celsus in this position, ince Celsus had been in office for a number of years by August 389 (CIL VI 1759 = Dessau, ILS 1272). But whether Nicentius was the *praefectus annonae* prosecuted by Celsus in 384, cannot be decided. It is noteworthy, however, that Nicentius' name is ot mentioned in Symmachus' correspondence. Cf. Seeck, Symmachus, LVI f.

might not, within short time, be granted unworthy men through corruption." (Epist. II 36)

It is this incident which Symmachus counts among the *gravissimae omnium rerum offensiones*, in which we can witness the split between the two factions of the pagan party: the majority, formerly led by Praetextatus and the small group of reactionaries under Symmachus.

Whatever Flavianus may have done, Symmachus lost out. In fact, the ultimate outcome of the controversy was that Coelia Concordia, the Head-Vestal, erected a statue of Praetextatus, apparently in the name of all Vestal Virgins,[46] in defiance of Symmachus' views. Praetextatus' widow, Fabia Paulina, expressed her gratitude by setting up in her house a statue of Coelia Concordia, the base of which is preserved[47] "chiefly because she (Coelia) had first erected a statue of her husband Vettius Agorius Praetextatus v. c., a man without equal, who was worthy of being honored even by the Virgins and priestesses of such high rank." This sounds like polemics against Symmachus.

His rather ridiculous references to Numa and Metellus (Pius) reveal a lack of understanding for Praetextatus' rôle and merits: his fear of creating a dangerous precedent shows how little he foresaw that in a few years the college of the *pontifices* would cease to exist. Like Ammianus Marcellinus and Macrobius who have been charged with arrogance for ignoring the Christian religion in their works, he greatly underrated the forces which aimed to eliminate all religions other than Christianity.

[46] This seems to me certain in spite of A. Degrassi's doubts (Riv. di filol. class. LVI (1928), 519, n.). Since Coelia Concordia dedicated the statue in her capacity as *Virgo Vestalis Maxima* (which can be concluded from Paulina's words in the inscription treated below), and since she lived in the Atrium Vestae, it is most likely that she erected the statue there. Whether or not she mentioned the other Vestals (see the following note), she represented the whole college by virtue of her office (cf. Wissowa, Relig. u. Kultus d. Röm., 509). The statue of Praetextatus is not preserved, as Degrassi has demonstrated conclusively (loc. cit).

[47] CIL VI 2145 = Dessau, ILS 1261; cf. Nock, Harv. Theol. Rev. XXIII (1940), 274 no. 32. The quoted passage follows in the original: *tum quod haec* (scil. Coelia Concordia) *prior eius viro Vettio Agorio Praetextato v. c., omnia singulari dignoque etiam ab huiusmodi virginibus et sacerdotibus coli, statuam conlocarat.* The plural is an additional argument in favor of the opinion that the statue of Praetextatus was set up by Coelia Concordia in the name of all Vestals.

Symmachus was not firm or energetic enough to assume the dership of the pagan party which Praetextatus had held. ith his request for resignation he publicly renounced that dership which was seized by Nicomachus Flavianus as we all see.

Praetextatus and Flavianus as well were feared and hated their Christian opponents not without reason. Praetextatus d once sneeringly remarked to Pope Damasus that he would mediately become a Christian if he were made bishop of me.[48] Symmachus would never have said a thing like that. e was on relatively friendly terms with Damasus, he corres-nded with Ambrose and recommended even Christian bishops his friends.[49]

It is furthermore significant that Symmachus' famous *relatio* 384 in defense of the Roman religion is preserved not only thin his correspondence, but also separately by Ambrose, ho appended it to his refutation of it (Epist. 18). While none of e outstanding pagan treatises against Christianity has sur-ved because all were suppressed by the victorious religion, the hurch herself has taken care of the preservation of Symma-us' work. It was undoubtedly through Ambrose's edition at Prudentius became acquainted with this document and was inspired to write his Contra Symmachum twenty years ter the relatio's publication. Ambrose fully recognized the erary qualities of Symmachus' work and Prudentius gave an thusiastic appraisal of Symmachus' eloquence (I 632 ff.):

> O linguam miro verborum fonte fluentem,
> Romani decus eloquii, cui cedat et ipse
> Tullius . . . .

he reason for the strange phenomenon that the Christian hurch preserved Symmachus' relatio is not difficult to guess. he plea appealed to the aesthetic sense and to the romantic elings of the men of that time. Yet as a defense of the pagan

[48] St. Jerome, Contra Ioann. Hieros. 8; cf. Dudden, Saint Ambrose, 31, n. 1. Cas-r, Gesch. des Papsttums I, 198.

[49] For Damasus see the incident reported above; for Ambrose Symmachus' corre-ondence with him, epist. III 30–37, and Ambrose's respectful handling of Symma-us, epist. 18, 1–2. Symmachus recommended Christian bishops to his brother (I 64) d in a letter without addressee (VII 51). See in general McGeachy, Symmachus, 131.

religion it was weak. Its preservation could not harm the Church once its immediate purpose had been thwarted. We remember: it was easy to convert Iuppiter.

IV

Symmachus' resignation apparently was not accepted before the beginning of 385. His cousin Flavianus had preceded him in retiring into private life. In 382/3, it seems, he had become *praefectus praetorio Italiae* after having been *quaestor intra Palatium* at Theodosius' court.[50] While he was prefect he dedicated to Theodosius a historical work called *annales* which was graciously received. Traces of this work are thought to appear in Ammianus Marcellinus and in the Historia Augusta.[51] But an infringement of law by his son, Flavianus the Younger, in his capacity of proconsul of Asia resulted in the retirement of both, father and son. Flavianus passed the following years in studies. A translation of Philostratus' Life of Apollonius of Tyana may have been written then, a work which is particularly noteworthy because it reflects Flavianus' interests.[52] This translation may be compared — *mutatis mutandis* — to St. Jerome's translation of the Bible. It is a deliberate act of pagan propaganda: the life of the miracle worker of Tyana was intended to supersede the life of Christ in the Gospels.

The march of the pretender Maximus into Italy somewhat disrupted the peaceful occupations in which these men were engaged. Symmachus was ill-considered enough to address a panegyric to Maximus early in 388, only a few months before Maximus lost throne and life. The victorious Theodosius entered Italy. Symmachus in panic fled into a church. The em-

[50] W. Hartke, Zwei chronologische Fragen um Nicomachus Flavianus, Klio XXXI (1938), 430 ff.

[51] The latest treatment of this difficult question is found in W. Hartke, Geschichte und Politik im spätantiken Rom. Untersuchungen über die Scriptores Historiae Augustae, Klio, Beiheft XLV (1940), 38 ff. 74 ff. Theodosius, in a message to the senate, mentioned the annals of Nicomachus Flavianus (in 394), CIL VI 1783 = Dessau, ILS 2948; see below, n. 64, 66, 90.

[52] On Flavianus' retirement see Seeck, Symmachus, CXVII; on his translation of Philostratus' Life of Apollonius cf. Sidon. Apoll., Epist. VIII 3. 1.

ror pardoned him like the other followers of Maximus and mmachus was even allowed to deliver an oration of apology fore Theodosius (cf. epist. II 31).

The emperor sent Valentinian II to Vienne in Gaule and re-ained in Italy himself, for he had it in mind to give Italy to s second son Honorius. He took up his residence in Milan, here, like Gratian and Valentinian II before him, he came der the influence of Ambrose.

The famous incidents in which the bishop asserted his au-ority over that of the emperor have often been told. When, the instigation of their bishop the Christians of Callinicum [53] Syria had plundered and burnt a Jewish synagogue, the em-eror decreed that the bishop himself should rebuild the syna-ogue and that the monks who had burnt a sanctuary of the nostic sect of Valentinians should be punished. Ambrose ldressed a letter of violent protest to Theodosius and threat-ned to denounce him publicly in church unless he retracted his ntence. Meanwhile Theodosius had dispatched a less severe ecision, requiring the state or the city and not the bishop to build the synagogue. Since Ambrose was dissatisfied with is compromise and did not receive an answer from Theo-osius, he made true his threat and rebuked the emperor in a ermon in the cathedral. The effect of this address was as de-red. Ambrose himself reports the unforgettable scene in the athedral which followed his sermon (Epist. 41. 27 f.). The em-eror yielded step by step, and when the *magister militum* and onsul elect, Timasius, tried to support his master, Ambrose rushed him aside like a schoolboy (December, 388).

In giving in, Theodosius probably recalled the crushing de-at which Valentinian II and his mother Justina had suffered nly a few years before in their struggle with Ambrose to pro-ide a church for Arian worship in Milan.[54] Theodosius may ave feared, and not without reason, similar consequences. But

[53] On the incident of Callinicum cf. Seeck, Gesch. V, 222 ff. v. Campenhausen, mbrosius, 231 ff. Caspar, Gesch. des Papsttums, I, 274 ff. Palanque, Saint Ambroise l'empire romain, 205 ff. Dudden, Saint Ambrose, 371 ff.

[54] Setton, Christ. Attitude towards the Emperor in the Fourth Century, 1941, 123; f. also Dudden, Saint Ambrose, 270 ff. N. Baynes, Engl. Hist. Rev. LIII (1938), 116.

he resented the encroachment on his authority and so kept Ambrose away from his consistorium.

Therefore when he went to Rome shortly after, he was in the mood to allow the spell of the Eternal City to have its full effect on him. He not only listened in the Curia to the panegyric of the pagan rhetor Pacatus, who was rewarded with the proconsulship of Africa, but made the most intransigent of the pagans, Nicomachus Flavianus, *praefectus praetorio Italiae*. The *praefectura praetorio Orientis* had been given as early as 388 to Tatian, so that the two highest offices in the empire were now in pagan hands. After Theodosius' visit to Rome Flavianus again lived at the court of the emperor and regained his former influence. It may have been due to this influence of Flavianus that in 390 the emperor appointed two pagans as consuls for 391, Symmachus and Tatian. A new attempt was made at that time to induce Theodosius to restore support to the public cults — but in vain.

However, in the same year 390 the imperial authority suffered another setback. In Thessalonica [55] the mob had slain the commander of the local garrison; riots had become more and more frequent in the last years, and Theodosius in a fit of violent rage decided to make an example of Thessalonica. He ordered that the people should be massacred. A reprieve arrived too late to prevent the slaughter in which thousands of people were killed when they assembled in the circus for the games. Although Theodosius, in an attack of remorse, had already issued on August 18, 390 an edict to Nicomachus Flavianus, suspending sentences of death for thirty days (Cod. Theod. IX 40. 13), Ambrose was determined to demand adequate penance from Theodosius for the terrible crime. The emperor struggled some weeks against the new humiliation, finally his conscience won the upper hand. Before the people of Milan the excommunicated emperor did penance without the imperial insignia until at Christmas he was readmitted to communion by the bishop.

[55] On the massacre of Thessalonica cf. Seeck, Gesch. V, 229 ff. v. Campenhausen, Ambrosius, 235 ff. Caspar, Gesch. d. Papsttums, I, 277. Palanque, Saint Ambroise, 227 ff. Dudden, Saint Ambrose, 381 ff. Baynes, Engl. Hist. Rev. LIII (1938), 115.

While the incident of Callinicum and the conflict with Am-
se resulting from it had provoked ill-feeling in Theodosius
l the wish to show his independence, the massacre of Thes-
onica and its consequences had the opposite effect. In the
tress which the realization of his great guilt had brought
a, Ambrose had given relief. Theodosius did not forget this.
om then on he was spiritually submissive to Ambrose.

Most visible is the new course in his religious policy which
ldenly became aggressive. He resumed the struggle against
ganism where Gratian had left it in 382.[56]

As early as two months after his reconciliation with the
urch, on February 24, 391, the emperor issued from Milan a
w addressed to the *praefectus urbi* Albinus, which categorically
bade any pagan cult, even visiting temples (Cod. Theod.
VI 10. 10). This measure was aimed against the pagan

[56] The description given here of Theodosius' policy since his victory over Maximus
88 is in contrast to von Campenhausen's picture of these crucial years (Ambrosius
Mailand als Kirchenpolitiker, 1929, 222 ff.). That picture is based on a precon-
ed assumption of a consistency in Theodosius' religious policy which is not borne
by the facts. According to v. Campenhausen, Theodosius, from the beginning of
reign, considered the extermination of paganism as his primary goal (223). His toler-
e toward the pagan aristocracy during the years 388 to 390 is dictated by the desire
vin the support of these influential circles for his plan to brush aside Valentinian II
avor of his own son Honorius (226 ff.). But, strangely, two years before appointing
norius, he suddenly abandons this policy and attacks and insults the very aristocracy
se support allegedly had been so important for him. The only explanation which
Campenhausen can offer is that Theodosius then was so sure of the strength of his
ition in Italy that he threw off the mask of tolerance and started his antipagan
slation for the West (243). How weak in reality his position in Italy was is elo-
ntly demonstrated by the fact that Eugenius and Arbogast conquered Italy ap-
ently without opposition. True enough, Theodosius was a faithful son of the
hodox Church and a bitter enemy of paganism, but on the other hand, he sincerely
nired pagans like Flavianus, Symmachus, Pacatus, Libanius. Since v. Campen-
sen's explanation of the period of tolerance 388 to 390 does not hold, there remains
y the traditional interpretation of seeing in it a reaction against Ambrose's inter-
nce in the incident of Callinicum, whereas Theodosius' sudden turn to almost
atical antipagan measures must be understood as a consequence of Ambrose's in-
sed influence on the emperor, which was due to the aftermath of the massacre
Thessalonica. — This criticism of v. Campenhausen's book is not intended to de-
t from its unquestionable merits. As an example of excellent criticism may serve
elimination of the testimony of Ps.-Prosper, De promissionibus et praedictionibus
III 38 regarding Symmachus' attempt in 390 to persuade Theodosius to return the
sidies to the pagan cults (256 ff.). I have consequently omitted Ps.-Prosper's ad-
onal "information" in my account above, p. 222.

aristocracy of Rome. The policy of tolerance until now ob served in the West by Theodosius and recently stressed at hi visit to Rome thus abruptly came to an end. A few month later, he directed a severe law against apostates from th Christian religion to the *praefectus praetorio* Flavianus (Cod Theod. XVI 7. 4, 5). A week later, from Aquileia, on his wa to Constantinople, Theodosius promulgated a stern antipaga law for Egypt (Cod. Theod. XVI 10. 11). Its immediate con sequence was the destruction of the famous Sarapeum in Alex andria by the Christians under their bishop Theophilus, a event which made an enormous impression on their contem poraries.[57]

Theodosius was so hasty in his zeal to suppress paganism that he did not even bother immediately to replace the paga high officials whom he had installed not long before. So it hap pened that the staunchest defender of paganism, Flavianus was charged with executing Theodosius' antipagan laws. It i not difficult to imagine the indignation of men like Flavianu and Symmachus, who considered the emperor's procedure a insult added to injury. Flavianus' defection from Theodosiu and his other actions in the following three years thus need n explanation. Still a few months previously, the pagan aris tocracy of Rome could hope that they might persuade The dosius to repeal Gratian's antipagan legislation, and now the were confronted by decrees which smacked of persecution Compared with them Gratian's measures appeared almos tolerant.

From Constantinople Theodosius continued to proclai antipagan laws through the years 391 and 392. This legisla tion culminated in the decree of November 8, 392, which place under severe penalty any practice of pagan religion, eve private (Cod. Theod. XVI 10. 12). Although this law wa addressed to Rufinus, the new *praefectus praetorio Orientis*, a ardent Christian, who had overthrown Tatian in the course o the summer of 392, there is little doubt that this law also wa meant for the West. It clearly was valid for everybody, eve

[57] On the destruction of the Sarapeum see especially the dramatic report of Rufinus Hist. eccl. XI 22–30. Dudden, Saint Ambrose, 404 ff. Nock, Later Egyptian Piety Coptic-Egypt, 23 ff.

r the highest dignitaries, as is said with elaborate emphasis rected against the aristocracy of Rome.[58] At the same time reflects political changes which meanwhile had occurred in he West.

V

At the court of Vienne the pagan *comes* Arbogast, whom heodosius had given to Valentinian II as a kind of protector, owed more and more to the young emperor that he considered imself the real ruler. This encouraged the Roman senate once ore to send a delegation to the emperor with the usual request or restoration of subsidies for the pagan cult. While Arbogast naturally favored the petition, Valentinian succeeded in aving it rejected. This last attempt to antagonize Arbogast ggravated the conflict between emperor and protector to such n extent that from then on Valentinian was the virtual prisoner f Arbogast. After having attempted in vain to dismiss Arbogast and finally after having secretly asked Ambrose to ome to Vienne, he was found hanged in the palace on May 13, 392. Whether his death was due to murder or suicide has never been ascertained, although it is probable that Valentinian died by suicide.

Arbogast as a barbarian (he was a Frank) could not himself aspire to the throne — not until 476 did such a thing happen, when Odovavacar was elected king by his Germanic troops; this year quite properly marks the official end of the Roman Empire in the West. Whatever Arbogast's reasons may have been, on August 22, 392 he made the *magister scriniorum* Flavius Eugenius emperor.[59] Eugenius had been a teacher of rhetoric in Rome where the *comes* and former consul Richomer had met

[58] The law of November 8, 392 starts as follows:

Nullus omnino ex quolibet genere ordine hominum dignitatum vel in potestate positus vel honore perfunctus, sive potens sorte nascendi seu humilis genere condicione fortuna in nullo penitus loco, in nulla urbe sensu carentibus simulacris vel insontem victimam caedat vel secretiore piaculo larem igne, mero genium, penates odore veneratus accendat lumina, imponat tura, serta suspendat.

Cf. on the validity of this law in the West Stein, Gesch. d. spätröm. Reiches I, 327. Palanque, Saint Ambroise, 278; against it: v. Campenhausen, Ambrosius, 243. Dudden, Saint Ambrose, 403 ff.

[59] On the date see Seeck, Gesch. V, 537. Seeck's assumption that the fall of Tatian in the summer of 392 was a signal to Arbogast that he must act for self-protection is impossible for chronological reasons.

him (Zos. IV 54). In 388 Richomer recommended him to Arbogast.

Ever since Gratian had raised his teacher Ausonius to high position, the social rank of men of letters had risen in the West. Therefore Eugenius' elevation is not astonishing. During his Roman days Eugenius had been on good relations with the circle of Symmachus and at Milan he had become acquainted with Ambrose. There can be no doubt that he was nominally a Christian, but his Christianity was like that of Ausonius a varnish which covered his genuine pagan sympathies. On his coins he is represented with a beard like Julian. Since no other emperor of the dynasties of Constantine, Valentinian I or Theodosius wore a beard, Eugenius' preference for this attire must indicate something, perhaps only that he considered himself a "philosopher." [60]

Both, Arbogast and the new emperor, tried at first to gain Theodosius' official confirmation. An embassy was dispatched to Constantinople which consisted in part of Gallic bishops loyal to Arbogast. They assured Theodosius of Arbogast's innocence in the death of Valentinian. Theodosius treated the embassy politely, but released them without a definite answer. At the same time, Eugenius wrote to Ambrose in order to gain his support. But Ambrose, uncertain about Theodosius' reaction, preferred to wait and left this and another letter unanswered.

In the meantime, the pagan circles in Rome, in the belief that the new emperor would be more favorable to their demands, sent a delegation to Gaule which repeated the customary requests. Although Eugenius rejected their petition because he still wanted to remain on good terms with Theodosius and Ambrose, he did it in so friendly a way that another deputation was soon again dispatched to him, with no better success.

Toward the end of 392 Arbogast made a campaign against the Franks: Eugenius was the last Roman emperor to cross the

[60] For the portrait of Eugenius cf. R. Delbrück, Spätantike Kaiserporträts, 1933, pl. XVI, Eug. 1–3; for Julian, pl. IX, Jul. 1–6. Seeck, Gesch. V, 244 explains the beard as "philosopher's beard." This interpretation is denied by v. Campenhausen, Ambrosius, 249, n. 4 (cf. also Wytzes, Streit, 149), who attributes no meaning to the beard. Hartke, op. cit. in n. 51, 91.

ine with an army. An inscription in Cologne — one of the e documents of his reign — records his activity there.[61]

Following the customs of that time, Eugenius had appointed eodosius and himself as consuls for 393, but Theodosius nored this and made Abundantius consul with himself. This cision must have become known late in 392 and its meaning ld not be misconstrued. Eugenius, now convinced that ere was no hope for an understanding with Theodosius, de-led to gain the support of the pagan nobility. In negotia-ns with the *praefectus praetorio* Flavianus an agreement was ached according to which Eugenius handed over to the lead-s of the pagan nobility the subsidies for the cult as a kind of rsonal gift. This device was intended to forestall Christian tacks against a revival of state supported pagan cults. It is vious that Ambrose was not taken in by this contrivance. nfortunately, it is not known exactly when Eugenius threw his lot with the pagan cause by this step, and in what chrono-gical relation it stands to Theodosius' severe law against gan practices of November 392.[62]

[61] Hartke, op. cit. in n. 51, 83, n. 2. Cf. Sulpicius Alexander in Gregor. Tur., Hist. anc. II 9. CIL XIII 2.2, 8262 = Dessau, ILS 790; the inscription records the recon-uction of a building which, apparently, was ordered by Arbogast personally. It may convenient to list here the other inscriptions in which Eugenius is mentioned: CIL 1, 1693 = Dessau, ILS 791. Restoration of the Basilica Alexandriana in Puteoli . . . *lvis d*[*dd. nnn.*] [*Theodosio Ar*]*cadio et E*[*ugenio*] [*invictissimis princip*]*ibu*[*s*]. On the her side of the stone there is a similar inscription set after the fall of Eugenius by abius Pasiphilus, whom Theodosius had appointed to take temporarily the place of th Flaviani, father and son, as *agens vices praefectorum praetorio et urbi* (CIL X 1, 94) cf. Seeck, Regesten, 153. — De Rossi, Inscr. Christ. urb. Rom. I 411, 413, 415–III 1 (ed. Gius. Gatti) 846–8. N. S. (ed. Silvagni) I 1449 dated *XVIII Kal. Maias* 393 A.D., 727, 1448, 1940. II 4828. CIL X 1, 4492 is also a Christian inscription. he Christian inscriptions show that Eugenius was recognized in Italy by the middle April 393. Cf. Stein, Gesch. d. spätröm. Reiches I, 328, n. 5.

[62] It is usually assumed that the decision about the consulate was made on January 1, 93. But such a procedure would have been contrary to the practice of that time. raetextatus, it will be remembered, died in the autumn of 384 as *consul designatus*. t is probable that Eugenius nominated himself and Theodosius soon after having been roclaimed emperor and Theodosius' countermove must have been made *before* Janu-ry 1, 393. The antipagan law of November 8, 392 seems to have been both the con-equence of the utter disregard accorded to Theodosius' earlier law of 391 in Rome and, t the same time, the cause for more determined action on the part of the Roman aris-ocracy. — For Eugenius' gift to the pagan leaders cf. Ambrose, Epist. 57, 6 and Paulinus, Vita Ambrosii 26.

A more hostile demonstration against the new regime wa made by Theodosius when he on January 23, 393 bestowed or his son Honorius the dignity of Augustus in the West. Witl this act he declared Eugenius an usurper. Eugenius' answe was that he marched into Italy early in 393. Ambrose, who hac previously written to him, left Milan and went to Bologna Faenza, and finally Florence. From here he directed anothe letter to Eugenius in which he referred to his earlier criticism of Valentinian and Theodosius and reprimanded Eugeniu for his pro-pagan policy. Nevertheless, the letter is polite anc reminds the addressee of their former friendship.[63]

The arrival of Eugenius in Italy released the last restraints which might have prevented the pagan aristocracy from at tempting a restoration of the ancient cults. All writers agree that the leader of this last full fledged pagan revival was the *praefectus praetorio*[64] Virius Nicomachus Flavianus. He wa appointed consul for 394. Eugenius did not name the other consul because he pretended to leave the nomination of the

[63] This letter is preserved as Epist. 57; it constitutes one of the most important sources for the reign of Eugenius. Latest edition: Wytzes, Streit, 102 ff.; cf. Dudden, Saint Ambrose, 424 ff.

[64] Whether Apodemius, who occurs as *p(raef.) pr(aet.) Illyrici et Afric.* on February 15, 392, when Flavianus was still in office (Seeck, Regesten, 279 arbitrarily adds *Italiae* to Apodemius' title), later took Flavianus' place is at least doubtful. In Cod. Theod. XII 12. 12 of July 28 Apodemius is called *p(raef.) p(raetori)o per Illyricum*, but in Cod Theod. XII 12. 13 of September 10 he is simply addressed as *p(raef.) p(raetori)o*, which does not prove anything, since this law directly follows no. 12, also addressed to Apodemius, in which his title was given more exactly. There remains as the only positive evidence for a possible dismissal of Flavianus by Theodosius, Cod. Theod. XI 30. 51 of June 9, 393 in which Apodemius is called *p. po. Illyrici et Italiae II*. This may mean that Theodosius had made Apodemius also *praef. praet.* of Italy while he was already preparing for war against Eugenius. Cf. Seeck, Regesten, 279 ff. 474. Stein, Gesch. d. spätröm. Reiches, I, 326. Palanque, Essai sur la préfecture du prétoire du bas empire, 1933, 76 ff. This hypothesis was opposed by Mommsen and Krüger, Cod. Theod. I 2, 636 and they are supported by Hartke (Klio XXXI (1938), 431 ff.) with a good argument: Flavianus is called *praef. praet. iterum* in a public as well as in a private document (CIL VI 1783 and 1782=Dessau, ILS 2948 and 2947; the latter inscription is reproduced above, p. 210), whereas his consulship, bestowed on him by Eugenius, is mentioned only in the private inscription. If he had been appointed for the second term of the *praefectura praetorio* by Eugenius, this term under all circumstances would have been omitted in the public inscription set in 431; see below, n. 66. This problem is linked to the question of whether Flavianus had been *praef. praet.* in 383; see above, p. 220.

ner consul to Theodosius. Since Theodosius appointed his n consuls, Flavianus was virtually "*consul sine collega*" in ly.[65] To increase Flavianus' influence, his son, Flavianus the unger, was made *praefectus urbi*.[66]

Symmachus apparently kept in the background, perhaps ser from his experiences of 388; at any rate, he did not oc- py a high office. The marriage between his daughter (whose me is unknown) and the younger Flavianus was celebrated obably in 393. A souvenir of this event has come down to in the form of an ivory diptych with the inscriptions SYM- ACHORVM and NICOMACHORVM. On the diptych two iestesses with the attributes of the cults of Ceres and Magna ater and, on the other side, of Liber and Iuppiter, are repre- nted, a very appropriate subject if we think of Fabia Paulina's les "*sacrata apud Laernam deo Libero et Cereri et Corae*" or *acrata apud Eleusinam deo Iaccho, Cereri et Corae.*" The ptych is remarkable also for its artistic qualities; it is the st work in a small group of classicistic diptychs which long to this period.[67] In the same year Symmachus' son

[65] All Roman inscriptions of 394 with consular dates mention Nicomachus Flavianus only consul: Inscr. Christ. urb. Rom. III 1 (ed. Gius. Gatti), 1854–7. N. S. (ed- vagni) II 4503, 6460. Particularly interesting is III 1, 1855: *XV kal. Octob. Nico- cho Flabiano conss.* because it indicates that on September 17 the death of Flavianus, ich had occurred on September 5, was not yet known to the man responsible for this cription. The inscriptions III 1, 1858 and N. S. I 2811 are dated *Arcadio III et orio II cons.*; they belong to the last part of the year, after the regime of Eugenius d Flavianus had collapsed; this is borne out by N. S. II 4487 which is dated after e same consuls *VII idus Oct.*, a month after Flavianus' death.

[66] Nicomachus Flavianus the Younger is called *praef. urbi saepius* in the official cription of 431 set by his son Appius Nicomachus Dexter upon the restitution of his ndfather's memory by Theodosius II (CIL VI 1783 = Dessau, ILS 2948). Flavianus e Younger calls himself *praefectus urbi iterum* in his inscription in honor of Arcadius nd on the Forum of Caesar (Paribeni, Not. Scavi 1933, 434; Hartke, Klio XXXI 938), 435), but in the private subscriptions of books VI–VIII of Livy which he ended he refers to himself as *III praef. urbis*. The office given him by Eugenius in 3 was omitted in public documents ("*saepius*" is a very unusual and rather amusing y to avoid the issue), but not necessarily in utterances of a private nature. See ove, n. 64.

[67] H. Delbrück, Die Consulardiptychen, 1929, 209 ff. pl. 54. Delbrück's rejection of eck's original explanation (Symmachus, LIX, n. 242) on the ground that one would pect an erotic theme if the diptych had been a *sportula* offered upon a wedding is cer- inly not convincing. To think of an appointment to office as the occasion for the gift the diptych seems to me out of place on account of the inscriptions. To exclude the

Q. Fabius Memmius Symmachus was quaestor. As such h received gifts from Eugenius and Flavianus to make th games which he had to give even more splendid.

How great Flavianus' power was can be inferred from a anonymous poem written by a Christian immediately after th collapse of the pagan revival. The poem is preserved in th Paris manuscript of Prudentius (cod. Paris. 8084) to whos *Contra Symmachum* it is closely related in origin and purpos though it is far inferior in quality. For it is due rather to th ineptitude of the poet than to the state of preservation that s many passages remain obscure. By patching up his work wit reminiscences from Virgil he has not made its understandin easier.[68]

The poem is a vitriolic attack against the omnipotent prefe (hence called *Carmen adversus Flavianum*), and the gods whon he tried to resurrect: Iuppiter, Saturnus, Mercury and Vul canus appear, and besides them, Mithras-Sol, Magna Mate and Attis, Liber, Trivia, Sarapis, Anubis and Isis, Ceres an Proserpina, an association of deities nearly identical with thos worshipped by Praetextatus and his wife.[69] The festivals o Isis and Magna Mater were celebrated in public processions le

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diptych from the time of Eugenius because of the restrained character of the represent tion (213) is an even more arbitrary conclusion. On the contrary, this reserve is complete agreement with Symmachus' own behavior during the reign of Eugenius a very fitting to his daughter. — On the whole group of diptychs belonging to th "Renaissance movement under Theodosius" cf. Weitzmann and Schulz, Arch. Jahr XLIX (1934), 132 f.; latest literature in Alföldi, A Festival of Isis, 38, n. 53.

[68] Anthol. lat. I², 20 (the constitution of the text in this edition is open to objec tions). Still important: Mommsen, Hermes IV (1870), 358 ff. = Ges. Schriften VI 485 ff. Main study: O. Barkowski, De carmine adversus Flavianum anonymo, Diss Königsberg (under Wünsch,) 1912. (This thesis is not a final study, however. Th poem deserves a new treatment.) Cf. now also Hartke, op. cit. in n. 51, 92 ff.

[69] In the appended chart under no. (8) Flavianus' affiliations with the cults liste are marked by a cross. The evidence for the cults mentioned in the text is foun in the following passages of the Carm. adv. Flav.: Iuppiter: 2, 9–18, 26 f., 31, 122 Vesta: 3; Saturnus: 68 *Saturni cultor*; Mercury: 92; Vulcanus: 97; Bellona: 22, 68 *Bellonae semper amicus*; Sol: 46–8; Magna Mater and Attis: 44, 57–66, 72–7, 103–9 Liber: 49 *Bacchique magistrum* (scil. *Flavianum*), 71 *Bacchique comes*; Trivia (scil Hecate): 71 *Triviaeque sacerdos*; cf. Barkowski, 53 f.; Sarapis, Anubis, Isis, Osiris: 5 *Sarapidis cultor* (scil. Flavianus), 91 *Dic mihi Sarapidis templum cur nocte petebas*, 95 98–102; Ceres, Proserpina: 96; cf. Barkowski, 66.

y Flavianus himself.[70] But he did not limit himself to the vival of the whole pageantry of the ancient cults. In mocking efiance of the law against apostates which Theodosius had ddressed to him two years before, he embarked upon an amitious program of conversions. How successful he was in ese endeavors can be concluded from the fury which perades the Christian invective. According to this Anonymous, lavianus was generous in handing out honors and offices mong those who "forgot themselves" and were willing to exhange the Kingdom of Heaven for eternal damnation by reouncing Christianity.[71] One of these was Marcianus who had eld the position of *vicarius Italiae* in 384 when Praetextatus nd Symmachus were prefects of Italy and the City respecively. He evidently belonged to the circle of Symmachus nd probably was glad to have this opportunity to desert the Christian faith. Flavianus rewarded him with the proconsulhip of Africa. After the fall of Eugenius and Flavianus Symnachus wrote to Ambrose on his behalf (Epist. III 33). A cerain Leucadius received for the same price another high office n the province Africa.[72] A Hierius was converted by Flavianus o the cult of Sol. He may be identical with the *vicarius Africae* f this name mentioned on March 23, 395. If it is so, then

[70] Isis: Carm. adv. Flav. 98 ff. Magna Mater and Attis (*Megalensia*): 103–9.

[71] Carm. adv. Flav. 53 f.:
Perdere quos voluit, percussit luridus anguis
contra deum verum frustra bellare paratus . . .
ibid. 78–84: Christicolas multos voluit sic perdere demens:
Qui vellent sine lege mori, donaret honores, etc.

[72] 85 f.:
Leucadium fecit fundos curaret Afrorum,
perdere Marcianum, sibi proconsul ut esset.

On Leucadius, who is otherwise unknown, cf. Mommsen, Ges. Schriften, VII, 494. Seeck, Gesch. V, 540. Marcianus received the proconsulship of Africa, a key position because of the dependence of the capital on Africa's grain. And indeed, the grain supply of Rome from Africa was not interrupted under Eugenius. This was due in part at least to Marcianus' efforts, not only to provide grain, but especially to appease Gildo, the powerful *magister militum* of Africa who was virtually in control of the province (cf. Seeck, Symmachus, LXVII). Characteristically, Marcianus again played an important part in 409 under the short reign of Attalus, another member of Symmachus' circle. At that time he became *praefectus urbi* (Zos.VI 7; cf. Seeck, Symmachus, CXCII). On Marcianus' position in 393 cf. also Hartke, op. cit. in n. 51, 93, 100.

he must have weathered rather well the antipagan reaction which followed the pagan revival of 393/4.[73]

The Carmen ad senatorem which is preserved under the name of Cyprianus offers additional testimony for the spirit of defection which spread among the Christian members of the Roman aristocracy at that time. This poem is directed against a senator who had given up Christianity in favor of the cults of Magna Mater and Isis and who had just joined the rank and file of the pagan aristocrats assembled in the appended chart. The poem fits admirably the revival under Flavianus and, like the Carmen adversus Flavianum, it was presumably written soon after the revival's end.[74]

Flavianus also showed his talents for propaganda in other ways. Together with the cults, the public apparatus of divination returned to prominence. The Sibylline books were consulted and the haruspices played an important rôle.[75] Flavianus who himself was an expert in the *scientia iuris auguralis*, now

[73] Carm. adv. Flav. 46 f.:

Sacratus vester urbi quid praestitit, oro,
qui Hierium docuit sub terra quaerere Solem . . .

On Hierius see PW VIII, 1458 no. 4 and 7. Mommsen, Ges. Schriften, VII, 494. Seeck, Regesten, 284. De Labriolle, Réaction païenne, 354.

[74] The Carmen ad senatorem is most conveniently edited by R. Peiper in CSEL, vol. XXIII, 227 ff. Cf. Schanz, Gesch. d. röm. Lit., IV 1, 222. Nock, Conversion, 159 f. Alföldi, A Festival of Isis, 40. In the same class belongs the so-called Poema ultimum of Paulinus of Nola, ed. Hartel, CSEL, vol. XXX 2, 329 ff., no. XXXII. It is addressed to a certain Antonius (perhaps Claudius Antonius, cos. 382, a friend of Symmachus, Morelli, Didask. I (1912), 498) and was composed soon after the author's own conversion to Christianity. It strongly attacks pagan cults, among them those of Magna Mater (88 ff.) and Isis (117 ff.), C. Morelli, L'autore del cosidetto *poema ultimum* attribuito a Paolino di Nola, Didask., I (1912), 481 ff., produced strong arguments in favor of the hypothesis that both poems are by the same author; cf. Schanz, Gesch. d. röm. Lit., IV 1, 222 f. 262 f. — How much the cult of Isis (and the other Egyptian deities) was in vogue among the Roman aristocrats can be gathered also from Ambrose's remark written in 395 concerning the shocking effect upon pagan circles when Paulinus of Nola retired from worldly life: "They themselves shave their heads and eyebrows when they consecrate themselves to Isis; but if a Christian, out of zeal for religion, takes to wearing the dress of a monk, they call it a shameful deed" (Epist. 58, 3; Dudden's translation, Saint Ambrose, 488). Cf. above, p. 230 and, in addition, Carm. adv. Flav. 98 f. and below, pp. 242 f.

[75] For the return of the *haruspices* cf. Carm. adv. Flav. 8: *Etruscus ludit semper quos vanus aruspex*: the *Etruscus vanus aruspex* is of course Flavianus himself; v. 35 (quoted below, p. 329) and 50: *Etruscis semper amicus* (scil. Flavianus) and the passage of Rufinus quoted in the text.

oduced an oracle to which he gave wide publicity.[76] Accord- to this prophecy the Christian religion was to come to an d after as many years as the year has days. If one counted 5 years from the beginning of Christianity, which was ntified with the crucifixion set in 29 A.D., one came to the ar 394 A.D. for the supposed eclipse of the Christian Church — year which appropriately was named after Flavianus himself only consul. Rufinus probably has this oracle in mind in his pressive description of the activity of the pagan party (Hist. cl. XI 33):

> At pagani, qui errores suos novis semper erroribus animant, innovare sacrificia et Romam funestis victimis cruentare, inspicere exta pecudum et ex fibrarum praescientia securam Eugenio victoriam nuntiare, superstitiosius haec agente et cum omni animositate Flaviano tunc praefecto, cuius adsertionibus, magna enim erat eius in sapientia praerogativa, Eugenium victorem fore pro certo praesumpserant.

It will be remembered that in 384, at the instigation of Praextatus, Theodosius had empowered Symmachus to investigate espoilers of public buildings, i.e. temples. This law had not een applied then. It seems that it was now enacted.[77] The nvective against Flavianus names the restoration of the temple f Flora by "*heres Symmachus*," probably Symmachus' son, the uaestor Q. Fabius Memmius Symmachus, who as the brother f Flavianus' daughter-in-law could well be called "heir" of lavianus by the poet.[78]

[76] Aug., De civit. dei XVIII 53–4. Cf. also the beginning of the Carm. adv. Flav. v. 1) *Dicite qui colitis lucos antrumque Sibyllae* and Barkowski, 4 f. Flavianus an xpert in *ius augurale*: Macrobius, Saturn. I 24. 17.

[77] This may be concluded from Carm. adv. Flav. 39 f.; cf. Seeck, Gesch. V, 248 and 41. But the interpretation of these verses remains doubtful.

[78] Carm. adv. Flav. 112–4:

> Sola tamen gaudet meretrix te consule Flora,
> ludorum turpis genetrix Venerisque magistra,
> conposuit templum nuper cui Symmachus heres.

The right explanation of *Symmachus heres* was given by Mommsen, Ges. Schriften, VII, 497. The identification of the *heres* with Q. Aurelius Symmachus is generally ccepted (only McGeachy, Symmachus, 134, n. 3 is more cautious), but not understandable in view of the family relationships and of Symmachus' own restrained attiude during these years. The Floralia is mentioned also by Ausonius in De feriis Romanis (Opusc. VII 23. 25); cf. Alföldi, A Festival of Isis, 47, n. 108.

In this connection the inscription of Ostia must be mentioned. It offers a unique confirmation of the sporadic and one-sided literary tradition with which we have to content ourselves. The restoration of the ancient temple of Hercules in Ostia belongs to the year 393 or the beginning of 394. Theodosius and Arcadius are recognized, but of course not Honorius who had been elevated by Theodosius in place of Eugenius. The inscription gains in significance if we consider that the dedicant was *praefectus annonae*; for in this period this official was immediately subordinated to the *praefectus urbi*.[79] At that time the *praefectus urbi* was Flavianus the Younger, as we have seen. In other words, the new document originated in the circle of Flavianus himself.

While the dedicant Numerius Proiectus apparently does not occur in the Fasti of the Empire, as far as they are known, it is tempting to identify him with the *familiaris noster* Proiectus whom Symmachus mentions as having been sent to him by Iulianus Rusticus on the occasion of the death of Flavius Titianus, Symmachus' brother, in 380.[80]

[79] That the *praefectus annonae* in this period was subordinated to the *praefectus urbi* can be seen not only from the Notitia dignitatum, 113 Seeck (IV 2 *Sub dispositione viri illustris praefecti urbis habentur amministrationes infrascriptae:* 3 *Praefectus annonae;* 4 *Praefectus vigilum*,etc.), but also from the *relationes* of Symmachus as *praefectus urbi*. In rel. XXIII treated above (p. 217) the attack against the *praef. ann.* was represented as an insult inflicted on the *praef. urbi*. The relationes VIIII, XVIII, and XXXV deal with the problem of *annona*, usually in the form of request for help from the emperor. They clearly show that the *praef. urbi* had the final responsibility for the food supply of Rome.—It was customary for the *praef. ann.* to take a special interest in Ostia, particularly in the Late Empire. Therefore Ostia has furnished the greatest number of inscriptions of these officials. When the crop of inscriptions discovered during the excavations of 1938–40 has been published, a new study of the *praef. ann.* will be a promising task. All available treatments and lists (like O. Hirschfeld, Philol. XXIX (1870), 1 ff. De Ruggiero, Diz. ep. I, 479 f. Seeck, Regesten, 473) are out of date.

[80] Symmachus, epist. III 6. 4:

> cumulatissimas gratias ago, quod Proiectum familiarem nostrum avulsum contubernio tuo meo solacio deputasti.

Iulianus Rusticus, *magister memoriae* of Valentinian I, had been considered in 367 by the Gauls in the emperor's environment as a possible candidate for the throne. Probably he was from Gaul himself. In 387/8 he was *praef. urbi*, when Maximus ruled over Italy, and died while in office (Seeck, PW X, 95 f.). He obviously belonged to the circle of Symmachus like his otherwise unknown friend Proiectus. It is possible that this Proiectus may be related to the Proiectus mentioned by Sidonius Apollinaris

The chance discovery of a dedicatory relief from the time of ulla near the temple of Hercules proves that the Hercules of stia issued oracles like the Hercules of Tibur.[81] This explains ven better the pagan party's interest in this temple: practices hich helped to foretell the future had a peculiarly strong at- action for the last pagans, as has been shown.

In the spring of 394 Theodosius was ready for his campaign gainst Eugenius. Flavianus hurried to Milan in order to take art in the expedition. The clergy of Milan, at the order of heir absent bishop, had assumed a defiant attitude toward ugenius, treating him as if excommunicated. Before leaving or the north Arbogast and Flavianus threatened furiously that pon their return they would transform the cathedral into tables and put the clerics in the army.[82]

The plan of Arbogast was to expect Theodosius' army north- ast of Aquileia, the gate of Italy, not far from the present city f Gorizia where the Frigidus (Vipacco) leaves the mountains. A contingent of troops under the Germanic leader Arbitio was stationed in an ambush to trap the army of Theodosius in the valley of the Frigidus.[83]

Flavianus emphasized the religious character of the coming

(Epist. II 4; about 472) as coming from a noble family in Gaul (on him cf. Sundwall, Weström. Stud., 123, no. 395; 394).

[81] Cf. the exhausting and convincing treatment of this relief by G. Becatti, loc. cit. in n. 1, 39 ff. Fuhrmann, Arch. Anz. LV (1940), 439 ff. gives a different, and in my opinion fantastic, interpretation of the monument without attempting to refute Becatti's well founded arguments. — For the oracles of the Hercules of Tibur: L. Cesano, Diz. ep. III, 710; cf. Stat., Silv. I 3. 79.

[82] Ambrose's letter no. 81, if interpreted rightly, may reflect the attitude of the clergy of Milan during Eugenius' stay (Palanque, Saint Ambroise, 283. Dudden, Saint Ambrose, 428). Arbogast and Flavianus' threats are reported by Paulinus, Vita Ambrosii 31:

> Promiserat enim Arbogastes tunc comes, et Flavianus praefectus Mediolano egredientes, cum victores reversi essent, stabulum se esse facturos in basilica ecclesiae Mediolanensis atque clericos sub armis probaturos.

They left Milan toward the end of July, since Ambrose returned to Milan about the first of August (Epist. 61, 2).

[83] For the battle of the Frigidus cf. the reconstruction by Seeck and Veith, Klio XIII (1913), 451 ff., which is based on an actual study of the battlefield, and the account depending on it in Seeck, Gesch. V, 252 ff. Some points remain obscure, especially the reason for and the exact time of Flavianus' suicide. Dudden's description of the battle (Saint Ambrose, 429 ff.) is in part not supported by the sources.

battle. On the ledges which flanked the prospective battlefield he had set up statues of Iuppiter with thunderbolts of pure gold. Standards with the picture of Hercules were carried before the army.[84] Iuppiter and Hercules also had been the gods of the emperors who, a century before, had waged bitter war against the new religion: Diocletianus Iovius and Maximianus Herculius.[85] Was it by chance that they were chosen by the historian Flavianus as the gods under whose protection the pagans should go into the battle which would turn out to be their last?

Iuppiter, the god of the Capitol, represented the Empire, Hercules had become since the days of Trajan the mythical model for the Roman Emperor. Themistius had saluted Julian as such upon his accession to the throne, as placed by God in the same position which once Hercules and Dionysus had occupied. Being philosophers and kings at the same time, they had cleansed from increasing baseness almost all land and sea (Iul., epist. ad Them. 253 C). In his speech against Heraclius Julian emphatically stressed the divine origin, the human life and the apotheosis of his favored hero Hercules: *ὥσπερ τὸν δεσπότην Ἡρακλέα διὰ τῆς βασιλικῆς ἀρετῆς εἰς τὸν Ὄλυμπον ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς ἀνῆχθαι τοῦ Διός.* (or. VII, 219 B). Still in the autumn

[84] About the statues of Iuppiter cf. Augustinus, De civ. Dei V 26, who based his report on the story of eyewitnesses. After Theodosius' victory they were of course destroyed and the gilded thunderbolts were distributed among the soldiers who declared with glee and joy that they liked to be hit by lightning of this kind. Barkowski, De carm. adv. Flav., 5, 24 sees a reference to the statue of Iuppiter in vv. 2, 26 f. of the Carm. adv. Flav. — The *εἰκὼν Ἡρακλέους* is mentioned by Theodoretus, Hist. eccl. When the battle seemed lost to Theodosius and his generals advised him to return to the East for the winter, he is reported to have replied: "One must not accuse the safety-bringing Cross of such weakness, and admit such strength in the image of Herakles. For the Cross leads our army, the image of Herakles that of the enemy" (V 24. 4). After Eugenius' defeat "Theodosius derided the image of Herakles and the fruitless courage it had created" (V 24. 17). Augustine speaks of *Iovis simulacra*, i.e. a plurality of statues (Seeck without reason refers to only one statue, Gesch. V, 249). Theodoretus, by opposing to *εἰκὼν Ἡρακλέους* the Cross, has in all probability standards in mind of the type of Constantine's labarum (so apparently Dudden, Saint Ambrose, 429). In the triumphant description of the obliteration of paganism which St. Jerome gave a few years later, he says: *vexilla militum crucis insignia sunt* (Epist. 107, 2): the Cross has become the *only* symbol on the standards of the army.

[85] Palanque, Saint Ambroise, 285 ("les dieux de Dioclétian") is the only one who has pointed out this coincidence, without commenting on it.

384 Themistius had said before Theodosius that Hercules τοῦτος ἦν ὅτι ἐκώλυσε παρανομίαν (or. XXXIV 28). It was possible to interpret Hercules (as also the mortal Apollonius of Tyana) as a pagan counterpart to Christ and that is exactly what Julian did in his oration against Heraclius (219 B ff.).[86] Praetextatus' speech in the Saturnalia again can be compared. To him, both Iuppiter and Hercules (and for that matter also Liber) are forms of Sol. Hercules is that quality of the Sun which gives mankind *virtus* similar to the gods. Hercules was honored with deification because through his boundless fortitude he merited the name of the god to direct *virtus*.[87] The prominent position which Hercules has in the theology of Praetextatus is confirmed by the list of his priesthoods: he was *Curialis Herculis*. This importance was fully upheld by Praetextatus' successor Flavianus. The inscription of Ostia bears witness to that, in addition to the testimony of the standards bearing the picture of Hercules in the battle at the Frigidus.[88]

[86] On Julian and Hercules see J. Bidez, Julian der Abtrünnige (German (latest) Edition), 1940, 214, 266. Schmid-Stählin, Gesch. d. griech. Lit., II 2, 1008. Julian's Interpretation of the life of Herakles (Or. VII 219 B–220 A) is similar in character to the Gospels: he even mentions as a miracle that Herakles walked on the sea as if it were dry land, an obvious imitation of Matth. 14. 22 ff. (= Marc. 6. 48 ff. John 6. 19 ff.); cf. Geffcken, Ausgang, 132. De Labriolle, Réaction païenne, 415.

[87] Macrob., Saturn. I 20. 6:

> Sed nec Hercules a substantia solis alienus est: quippe Hercules ea est solis potestas quae humano generi virtutem ad similitudinem praestat deorum. Nec aestimes Alcmena apud Thebas Boeotias natum solum vel primum Herculem nuncupatum: immo post multos atque postremus ille hac appellatione dignatus est honoratusque hoc nomine, quia nimia fortitudine meruit nomen dei virtutem regentis.

One sees that this is very much in the line of Julian's thought.

[88] Barkowski, under the impression of the account of Theodoretus, believed he saw allusions to Hercules in Carm. adv. Flav. 41 ff. and 67 (op. cit., 34 ff., 50 ff.). But his interpretations have been rightly rejected by Geffcken, Ausgang, 300. That Hercules was popular at the end of the fourth century among the pagans is shown by various other testimonies. Ausonius mentions in De feriis Romanis (Opusc. VII 23. 24) in the same verse the birthday of Hercules (*natalem Herculis*) and the day of the Bark of Isis. Rufius Festus Avienus in his Ora Maritima 269 ff. tells of visiting the sanctuary of Hercules at Gades, probably while he was *proconsul Baeticae*, in the last quarter of the fourth century (cf. F. Marx, PW II 2, 2388). Particularly noteworthy are two utterances by St. Augustine. One of them is a letter to the municipal council of Sufes in *Africa proconsularis*. Sixty Christians had been killed in a riot which had been caused by their destroying a statue of Hercules. With bitter irony Augustine promises to have

Theodosius crossed the passes of the Julian Alps without finding any resistance. When on September 5, 394 his vanguard reached the end of the valley of the Frigidus, the battle began. Theodosius was gravely hampered, for he could not deploy his main forces in the narrow valley. At the end of the day he had lost 10,000 men. Moreover, he was threatened by Arbitio at his back. The situation seemed desperate. But in the night Arbitio went over to him and so destroyed Arbogast's plan. Next morning Theodosius appeared on a ledge where he could be seen by both armies and knelt in prayer. Then he gave the sign for battle. And suddenly the feared north-east storm of the Adria, the Bora, arose, hurling clouds of dust against the soldiers of Eugenius and turning their lances against themselves. A miracle had occurred in the battle of Hercules and the Cross.[89] Panic seized the primitive barbarians, drove them into headlong flight and brought them to surrender. Eugenius was captured, dragged before Theodosius and slain by the soldiers.

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a new god made for the citizens of Sufes or to buy them one from their own artisans, provided that they return so many lives (*et, sicuti a nobis vester Hercules redhibetur, sic etiam a vobis tantorum animae reddantur*; epist. 50). Augustine, in calling them lawbreakers who neither respect nor fear the emperors, alludes to the antipagan laws, but not necessarily to the law of 399 (Cod. Theod. XVI 10. 16) as A. Goldbacher CSEL, vol. LVIII, 18 and Geffcken, Untergang, 184, believe. The letter can have been written at any time after the laws of 391 and 392, and may well belong in the period of the revival of 393/4, when the province of Africa was dominated by Eugenius' party. – The other testimony is found in a sermon given by St. Augustine in Carthage on June 16, 401 (serm. 24. 6 in Migne, PL XXXVIII, 166; on the date cf. A. Kunzelmann, Miscellanea Agostiniana II (1931), 497; G. G. Lapeyre, ibid., 138). "Hercules, who once was called a god, does not exist any more in Rome. But here he even wanted his beard gilded." One gathers from Augustine's words that in some connection with this ceremony a Christian had cut off the beard of the statue, apparently through the connivance of the new *iudex*. And, of course, *qui deaurari eum voluerunt, de raso erubuerunt*. Augustine is not very clear since he deals with an event which was fresh in the mind of his audience (*Suggestio itaque nescio quae novo iudici obrepsit. Quid egit? Non egit utique ut a christiano lapis honoraretur, sed ut christianus illi superstitioni ad radendum misceretur*).

[89] The decisive interference of the Bora is a feature upon which all reports of the battle agree. It was naturally interpreted as a miracle (cf. esp. Ambrose, epist. 61, 3; 62, 4. In psalm. XXXVI enarr. 25 (CSEL, vol. LXIV, 99 f.). Aug., De civ. Dei V 26. Oros. VII 35. Rufinus, Hist. eccl. XI 33, in order to quote the immediate contemporaries; cf. Seeck, Gesch. V, 255 f.). It left a deep impression also among the pagans and suggested to the pagan compilator of the Historia Augusta the forged account of the battle in vita Gord. 16, 2 (cf. Hartke, op. cit. in n. 51, 106 f.).

lavianus committed suicide. He could have surrendered
Theodosius, but he preferred not to survive the cause for
ich he had fought all his life and whose last hope he had
n.[90]

Looking back on his work during the two crucial years which
ceded his death, the similarity of his program to that of
aetextatus seems to be the most striking feature. In the
ection of the cults to be particularly stressed, in the attempt
restore the sanctuaries of the pagan gods to their ancient
ry, he followed the footsteps of Praetextatus. This is true
o of details of his theology. The Anonymous adversus
avianum in describing the procession of the Hilaria has
avianus proclaim the identity of Attis and Sol (v. 109: *Attin*
tratum subito praedicere solem), which is asserted by Prae-
xtatus in the Saturnalia (I 21. 9): *Solem vero sub nomine*
tinis ornant fistula et virga.[91]

Praetextatus was to his admiring contemporaries and still
Macrobius the *princeps religiosorum* (see above, p. 207). Is
not most significant that Flavianus is addressed by his fanatic
emy, who calls him elsewhere *demens*, *insanus*, or *luridus*
guis, in the following way (Carm. adv. Flav. 34–36):

> Sed fuit in terris nullus sacratior illo
> quem Numa Pompilius, e multis primus aruspex,
> edocuit.

ne bitter irony of these verses has preserved ideally the title
nich Flavianus might have received by his followers and
nich is deservedly identical with that of Praetextatus.

[90] Rufinus, Hist. eccl. XI 33:

> post etiam magistri horum et doctores errorum, praecipue Flavianus plus pudoris quam sceleris reus, cum potuisset evadere, eruditus admodum vir, mereri se mortem pro errore iustius quam pro crimine iudicavit.

ommsen, Ges. Schriften, VII, 497 concluded that Flavianus committed suicide be-
e the battle because in Rufinus' account Flavianus' death precedes the report of the
ttle, and others accepted this view. But there is no other, more cogent, evidence for
s hypothesis (cf. above, n. 83). Rufinus makes it clear that Theodosius would have
ed to forgive Flavianus. This is confirmed by Ambrose, De obitu Theodosii 4: *quin*
um iis, qui in se peccaverant, doluit quam dederat periisse indulgentiam et veniam
negatam. In a message to the senate, Theodosius declared that he would have wished
it Flavianus remained alive (CIL VI 1783 = Dessau, ILS 2948; cf. above, n. 51,
and 66).

[91] Cf. Hepding, Attis, 167 f. Barkowski, De Carm. adv. Flav. 71.

But Flavianus went farther than Praetextatus. When h saw that the very existence of pagan worship was endangere by Theodosius' antipagan legislation, he did not hesitate t abandon the emperor whose faithful servant he had been fo more than a decade. He boldly seized the opportunity afforde by Eugenius to attempt a restoration of the pagan cults an made a serious effort to transform into reality the program c Praetextatus and the ideas of Julian, which Praetextatus mor than any one else had safeguarded in Rome up to his death.

By ending his life himself, Flavianus chose the death of Cat Uticensis and followed even in this last act the ancient trad tion of Rome. In life and death Flavianus thus deserves th name of The Last Roman. The battle in which he perished sym bolizes the end of an age with unusual clarity. The decisio reached at the Frigidus and the death soon afterwards c Theodosius mark the beginning of the final phase of disintegra tion in which the Empire precipitately headed toward its en The rapidity with which disaster after disaster overtook Rom terrified contemporaries. The pagans were convinced that th destruction of the ancient religion had brought the downfal For the last time, Christianity saw itself on the defensive. Thi accusation kindled the last controversy of antiquity and in spired Augustine's City of God, the work destined to becom the main pillar of mediaeval philosophy.

All efforts of the circle of Praetextatus, Flavianus and Sym machus to revive or simply to preserve their religion faile utterly and only a few documents tell of their last struggl among them the new inscription of Ostia is of particular im portance. And yet, while their fight for the ancient religio ended in failure, they gained on another front a victory whic has made their names immortal: they rescued the works of th great Latin authors out of the darkness into which they hac fallen during the anarchy of the third century, copied an emended them in the fashion inherited from the great scholars o Alexandria and so prepared editions which were improve texts, and which were to form the starting point for the me diaeval tradition of these authors.[92] Without the assiduou

[92] E. Lommatzsch, Litterarische Bewegungen in Rom im vierten und fünfte

tivity of these men, much of Latin literature that has come wn to us would have been irretrievably lost. The same urch which had frustrated all attempts to restore their re-gion, under the leadership of the Order of St. Benedict, took er this legacy to hand down to us the Latin literature which ıd been saved from destruction by the last pagans. This is ıe historical achievement of the pagan revival at the end of he fourth century.

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hrhundert n. Chr., Zeitschr. für vergl. Litteraturgesch., n. F., XV (1904), 177 ff.
cGeachy, Symmachus, 170 ff.

APPENDIX (see page 205, note 22)

Neocorus in Rome, Ostia, and Portus

In Praetextatus' roll of priesthoods one is found which has not been explained so far: between *hierophanta* and *tauroboliatus*, there is the word *neocorus*. The available special literature on *neocorus*, last assembled by K. Hanell, PW XVI, 2422 ff., deals exclusively with Greece and is of no value for our purposes. It is obvious, however, that also in Greece the position of "warden of a temple" gradually grew in importance. More pertinent here are the remarks of F. Cumont, L'Égypte des astrologues, 123 on *neocorus* as one of the high ranking priests in the cult of Sarapis (I owe this reference to Professor Nock): "Le néocore n'est pas un prêtre originairement égyptien, mais il appartenait au culte alexandrin de Sérapis et il prit place dans le clergé de tous les sanctuaires de ce dieu." He emphasizes that the ancient authors mention the "neocorus parmi les prélats les plus respectés."[93] Among his reference some passages of Firmicus Maternus are particularly noteworthy: De errore prof. relig. XIII 3: *huius* (scil. *Sarapidis*) *simulacrum neocororum turba custodit* and Math. I 144. 25: *prophetae, neocori aut praepositi templis*; 230. 29: *neocoros aut principes sacerdotum*; II 267. 18 and 307. 22: *sacerdotes, prophetas, neocoros*. A *propheta Isidis* appears in the appended chart, no. (18). Cumont who refers to this inscription (120) characterizes the *propheta* (119) as, "le dignitaire le plus considérable après le grand prêtre."

While Cumont's evidence may be deemed sufficient to prove that *neocorus* is to be related to the cult of Sarapis when used without further specification, additional and final proof to this effect is afforded by a number of inscriptions, most of them in Greek, from Rome, Ostia, and Portus, in which a *neocorus* occurs, usually as the dedicant.

Three of these inscriptions concern the Alexandrian athlete M. Aurelius Asclepiades of the time of Marcus Aurelius and Commodus, IG XIV 1102–4 = IGRom I 153, 154, 152 in which he is called νεωκόρος τοῦ μεγάλου Σαράπιδος or ὁ πρεσβύτατος τῶν νεωκόρων (or νεωκόρος) τοῦ μεγάλου Σαράπιδος. Here the famous sanctuary of Sarapis in Alexandria is meant (cf. Otto, Priester und Tempel I, 114, n. 3). The only other inscription from Rome in which νεωκόροι are mentioned (and I have investigated CIL VI as far as possible in view

[93] U. Wilcken, Urkunden der Ptolemäerzeit, I, 94 terms the ἱερεύς and the νεωκόρος the real backbone of the clergy of Sarapis ("das eigentliche Rückgrat der Serapispriesterschaft"). Cf. also W. Otto, Priester und Tempel im hellenistischen Ägypten, I, 113 ff.

the lack of indices) is IG XIV 1030 = IGRom I 107, a double dication to Zeus Helios Sarapis by Statius Quadratus ὁ κράτιστος κόρος, who had often been saved from great danger, and by Dioskos νεωκόρος τοῦ μεγάλου Σαράπιδος. Since Dioskoros dedicates a replica of the statue of Sarapis in Canopus, it is not unlikely that both dedicants were *neocori* of an Egyptian sanctuary of Sarapis.

Every one of the inscriptions from Ostia and Portus can be connected with the Serapeum of Portus, which is mentioned in IG XIV 844 = IGRom I 389 set in honor of Severus Alexander and his mother by M. Aurelius Heron, νεωκόρος τοῦ ἐν Πόρτῳ Σαράπιδος. Similar is the inscription IG XIV 917 = IGRom I 380 put up about 201 A.D. in honor of Septimius Severus and his house by C. Valerius Serenus, ἐπιμελητὴς παντὸς τοῦ Ἀλεξανδρείνου στόλου = *procurator classis Alexandrinae*.[94] He calls himself νεωκόρος τοῦ μεγάλου Σαράπιδος. The same Serenus dedicated IG XIV 919 = IGRom I 384: Σερῆνος Ξιφίδιος ὁ κράτιστος νεωκόρος ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων ἀνέθηκα, IG XIV 920 = IGRom I 381: Σερῆνος νεοκόρος ἀνέθηκεν, and IG XIV 921 = IGRom I 391 fr.: Σερῆνος ὁ πρεσβύτατος νεωκόρος ἀνέθηκα. This last group of documents is decisive: as in the epitaph of Praetextatus, *neocorus* is used without any reference to a god;[95] here, however, a fourth inscription informs us about the god whose temple is meant. In Praetextatus' list of priesthoods the meaning of *neocorus* was clear to his contemporaries, nor need we hesitate to assign this priesthood to Sarapis. His full title would have been somewhat like *neocorus Iovis magni Sarapidis* as in another Latin inscription of an earlier period (CIL XIV 188 = Dessau, ILS 4403, from Ostia).[96] That the god is not mentioned has its

[94] On C. Valerius Serenus cf. PIR III 377, no. 131 and J. Hasebroek, Untersuchungen zur Geschichte des Kaisers Septimius Severus, 1921, 125. He and his title are not mentioned by Ch. Starr, The Roman Imperial Navy, 1941, 109 ff. In this connection I may be permitted to note that Ser. Sulpicius Cn. f. Quir. Serenus, a *tribunus militum* of the legio XXII Deiotariana, who in 122/3 A.D. memorialized on the legs of the Colossus of Memnon his visit to this famous site, called himself νεωκόρος τοῦ μεγάλου Σαράπιδος, probably in Alexandria (IGRom I 1200); he was stationed in Egypt: IGRom I 1207; cf. Ritterling, PW XII, 1796.

[95] Two other inscriptions of Ostia belong to the same category:

(1) CIL XIV 785 *domui aetern*[*ae*] *Cassiae Rufinae quae v*[*ixit annis*] *XXVIIII mensibus IIII diebus . . . Carminia Cassia naeacore* [*matri*] *Sex. Carminius Neophytus auiugi ca*[*rissimae*

(2) CIL XIV S 1, 4325: . . . . *menus neacorus* (= *Diadu*]*menus* (or something similar) *neacorus*)

[96] Equipment for the Serapeum in Portus was dedicated by A. Cassius Eutyches νεωκόρος τοῦ μεγάλου Σαράπιδος according to the bilingual inscription CIL XIV 47 = IG XIV 915 = Dessau, ILS 4402 = IGRom I 390. This inscription concludes the group of documents from Rome and its environments in which the title *neocorus* is found and all of which must be related to the cult of Sarapis.

analogies, e.g., in Praetextatus' own title *hierophanta*, or in Rufiu Volusianus' (18) *hierofanta* and *pater*, or in Kamenius' (11) *magister* in each instance those to whom these inscriptions were addressed their fellow pagans, knew the significance of these terms.

In view of the emphasis which Fabia Paulina laid upon the com plete identity of her religious views with those of her husband (IL 1259, line 22: *Tu me, marite, . . . in templa ducis ac famulam divi dicas; te teste cunctis imbuor mysteriis*, etc.; see above, p. 205), i seemed strange that in Praetextatus' roll of priesthoods nothing cor responded to her title *Isiaca*. That a man like Praetextatus should no have been deeply interested in the Egyptian cults is unbelievable. I his speech in the Saturnalia Sarapis is identified with Sol (I 20. 13 ff. and Isis and Osiris are mentioned. The solution of the interpretatio of *neocorus* also solves this discrepancy.

THE COVERDALE TRANSLATION OF PSALM LXXXIV

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Introduction

ıe Coverdale Bible of 1535 in itself, in its sources, in its en-ıring vitality, is one of the remarkable monuments of the ·otestant Reformation in England. Any historical study of must set one at the heart of that astonishing release of human ergies that put an end to an older epoch of Christendom and, ong with other influences, set us on the road to our modern mplexity of forces whose issue we do not descry. The new rnacular Bibles of the sixteenth century, embedded in the w doctrine of the private reader's emancipation from au-ority, were manifestly one of the chief engines of the popular peal of Protestantism, which was to be in the event so sweep-gly successful throughout northern Europe.[1]

The enduring vitality of the Coverdale Bible is verified not ıly in its influence on subsequent translations, culminating in .e King James Version, but most directly in the survival of s Psalter as an ordinary service book of the Anglican liturgy. rawn into the first Book of Common Prayer in 1549, during .e reign of Edward VI, from the Great Bible, there it was to main, notwithstanding the prestige of the King James Ver-on itself, through all revisions of the Prayer Book; and there

[1] Sir Frederic Kenyon, Our Bible and the Ancient Manuscripts (London, 1939), 1 f., has these judicious remarks:

> The earliest vernacular Bibles were not connected with the Reformation controversy. . . . But with the outbreak of the Reformation, Bible translation took on a new and controversial aspect. The reformers held that the best method of overthrowing the power of the monasteries and of the Roman Church was to enable the common people to read the Bible for themselves and learn how much of the current teaching of the priest and friar had no basis in the word of Scripture. The leaders of the Roman Church, on the other hand, doubted the advisability of allowing the Scriptures to be read by uneducated or half-educated folk without the accompaniment of oral instruction.

it enjoys today a favor that has accumulated with the associations of the years.

The case is in some respects comparable to that of the Latin Vulgate Psalter, which St. Jerome's translation from the Hebrew has in common use never supplanted. The Vulgate Psalter has many faults, due largely to the fact that it is, like Coverdale's, a translation of a translation. Yet it sang its way into the affections, and remains today the text of the Vulgate Bible, and the ordinary text of the Roman Breviary.[2]

The present study has been made with the intention of illustrating the relationship of a single Psalm of Coverdale's to its sources, and, through intermediate stages, to its term in the Book of Common Prayer. The bounding lines and the basic pattern for such a study have been clearly and firmly laid by excellent scholars whom it is a constant pleasure to follow.[3]

[2] It is convenient to recall the three Latin Psalters attached to the name of Jerome (1) The Psalterium Romanum, confined in modern liturgical use to the recitation of the Office in St. Peter's, and to incidental elements in the Missal and the Breviary, was a hasty revision made by Jerome at Rome, 383 A.D., of an earlier Latin version from the Greek. (2) It lent itself to new corruptions, and left the reviser so dissatisfied that he set to work on a thorough revision, with the Hexapla Septuagint as his basic text. This Psalter, produced at Bethlehem before 390, obtained early currency in Gaul, and is therefore called the Psalterium Gallicanum. It is the official Catholic version, incorporated in the Breviary and in the Clementine Vulgate Bible. Only to this version is the term Vulgate properly applied. (3) Finally, about the end of the fourth century, St. Jerome produced his direct translation from the Hebrew. There is a good modern edition of this, Psalterium iuxta Hebraeos Hieronymi, by J. M. Harden (London: S.P.C.K., 1922). [Pius XII, by the *motu proprio* In Cotidianis Precibus, March 25, 1945, has authorized for the recitation of the Divine Office optional use of a new Latin Psalter, made from the Hebrew, once it shall have been published in the sequence and setting of the Roman Breviary. The Psalter by itself has appeared in the United States with the following title: Liber Psalmorum cum Canticis Romani Breviarii: nova e textibus primigeniis interpretatio latina cum notis criticis et exegeticis cura professorum Pontificii Instituti Biblici edita (New York: Benziger Brothers, 1945).]

[3] These are especially valuable: (1) H. R. Tedder, "Coverdale, Miles (1488–1568)," Dict. of National Biography, XII, 364–372. (2) R. Lovett, The English Bible in the John Rylands Library, 1525–1640 (printed for private circulation, 1899). (3) Brooke Foss Westcott, A General View of the History of the English Bible (3rd edit., revised by William Aldis Wright, London, 1905). (4) Henry Guppy, "Miles Coverdale and the English Bible, 1488–1568," Bulletin of the John Rylands Library, XIX (Manchester, 1935), 300–328. (5) Harold R. Willoughby, The Coverdale Psalter and the Quatrocentenary of the Printed English Bible with a Facsimile Reproduction of the Psalter (Chicago: for the Caxton Club, 1935). (6) H. Guppy, "The Royal Injunctions of 1538 and the Great Bible 1539–1541," Bul. of the John Rylands Library, XXII (1938),

Coverdale

Born in 1488, Coverdale studied theology at Cambridge, was ordained priest in 1514, and entered the Augustinian Order, which he left about 1526. In 1531, at Cambridge, he took the degree of bachelor of canon law. In 1540, he married Elizabeth Macheson, sister-in-law of one of the translators of the Danish Bible. He obtained the doctorate of divinity from Tübingen during the forties, and was for a time, on two occasions, a Lutheran pastor in Bavaria. He was appointed bishop of Exeter in 1551, under Edward VI, a post which he lost with the accession of Mary Tudor. He again left England, to return under Elizabeth, assisting in 1559 at the consecration of Archbishop Parker. In 1563, the University of Cambridge conferred upon him the doctorate of divinity. Edward Grindal, bishop of London, appointed him to the living of St. Magnus. Coverdale resigned this in 1566, when the Crown was insisting on stricter conformity. He died some two years later, at eighty-one.

The Coverdale Bible

The Miles Coverdale Bible appeared in the reign of Henry VIII, a year after the Act of Royal Supremacy was passed. Comprising all the books of the Old Testament according to the Greek and the Hebrew canons, and those of the New, it marks a culminating achievement in the history of the printed English Bible. It was printed on the continent. The question where and by whom is not yet answered with complete certi-

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31–71. (7) Kenyon, as in f. n. 1. (8) Ernest Clapton, Our Prayer Book Psalter (London: S.P.C.K., 1934). This title was called to my attention by Professor Cadbury after the present study had been completed. The author publishes on facing pages all of the 1535 Psalter and of the Prayer Book Psalter, with an introduction and notes on Coverdale's sources. It is a very useful work; and I should have made frequent reference to it had it been earlier in my hands. The author's learning would have supplemented and supported my account of facts without, so far as I have observed, disturbing it. It may be remarked that Mr. Clapton in his notes rarely quotes the Zurich Psalter, and in the case of Psalm lxxxiv not at all. In his Introduction (p. xvi), he rightly recognizes Coverdale's "great respect for it." I am most grateful to Professor Cadbury; and for the loan of the volume I am indebted to the Episcopal Theological School, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

tude.[4] For our immediate problem, fortunately, the point is non-essential. To our purpose is the original form of the title, copies of which are preserved, though very scarce. It runs as follows: Biblia. The Bible that is the holy Scripture of the Olde and New Testament, faithfully and truly translated out of Douche and Latyn into Englishe. M.D.XXXV.[5]

In the last paragraph of Coverdale's dedication of his Bible to the King, he writes:

I haue neither wrested nor altered so moch as one worde for the mayntenaunce of any maner of secte but haue with a cleare conscience purely and faythfully translated this out of fyue sundry interpreters, hauying onely the manyfest trueth of the scripture before myne eyes.

Finally, in his Prologue to the reader, Coverdale returns to the subject of his sources:

And to helpe me herin, I haue had sondrye translacions, not onely in latyn, but also of the Douche interpreters: whom (because of theyr synguler gyftes and speciall diligence in the Bible) I haue ben the more glad to folowe for the most parte, accordynge as I was requyred.[6]

It has long been recognized by competent scholars that Coverdale's account of his obligations is exact, and that he

[4] Until recently, Christopher Froschouer of Zurich, who printed the Coverdale Bible of 1550, seemed to have a preponderance of probabilities in his favor (see, e.g., Guppy, "Miles Coverdale and the English Bible," p. 309 f.). L. A. Sheppard, "The Printers of the Coverdale Bible 1535," in The Library, XVI (Oxford, 1935), 280–289, has advanced the discussion to a new stage; and his findings are accepted by the British Museum, General Catalogue of Printed Books, XVI (London) 1936, 73 f.: "This Bible has been attributed to C. Froschouer of Zurich, but the initials used are found in books printed by the Cologne printers Cervicornus and Soter, the former of whom established a press at Marburg in 1535." Kenyon, Our Bible and the Ancient Manuscripts, p. 218, follows this opinion: the 1535 Coverdale was printed "probably . . . at Marburg."

[5] I omit further letterpress, consisting of Biblical quotations, and description of the pictorial border attributed to Holbein. According to Guppy, "Miles Coverdale and the English Bible," p. 307, only one copy of the title in its original form survives, this in the collection of the Earl of Leicester. A facsimile of it accompanies Guppy's article (Plate 2). He apparently means that only one perfect copy survives, for the British Museum claims one, mutilated (General Catalogue, XVI, 73 f.).

[6] This and the preceding passage are transcribed from photostatic restorations of missing parts in the Coverdale Bible, excellently preserved, of the Newberry Library, Chicago. The preliminary quire and a few other leaves are thus supplied; and there are a few mended leaves; otherwise this original copy is intact, Psalm lxxxiv (Coverdale lxxxiii) included. The title-page is restored; but the last leaf remains, with the anonymous imprint, as follows: "Prynted in the year of oure Lorde M.D.XXXV. and fynished the fourth daye of October."

as ill served by enthusiastic admirers who sought to establish r him the fame of a direct translator of the Hebrew.[7] Given ie main scope of his life's activity, it would be strange if he ad no knowledge of Hebrew at all. In a private letter to homas Cromwell, the King's Minister, written in 1538, when overdale was in Paris editing the Great Bible, he has a statement that definitely implies the contrary. The letter is signed, long with Coverdale, by Richard Grafton, Grocer, a promoter f the undertaking.

> For we folowe not only a standynge text of the Hebrue, with the interpretacion of the Caldee, and the Greke, but we set, also, in a pryvate table, the yversite of redinges of all textes, with suche annotacions, in another table, s shall douteles delucidate and cleare the same, as well without any singuryte of opinions, as all checkinges and reprofes.[8]

Although the Great Bible, which appeared in 1539, contains either of the tables referred to, this letter proves that when it vas written, three years after Coverdale's own Bible, the translator was taking some cognizance of the original tongues. Such considerations, however, are of slight importance. In the crucible of criticism, a direct translation from the Hebrew would stand revealed. Coverdale's version, on the contrary, with his own candid testimony to point the way, has been successfully referred to the secondary sources from which it immediately flows. There is now full agreement on the principal identifications.

Henry Guppy, Librarian of the John Rylands Library, has a convenient summary of this subject:

> Modern research, based upon the sure foundation of internal evidence, has succeeded in practically demonstrating the authorities Coverdale had in mind when he wrote "fyue sundry interpreters." They were the German-

[7] John William Whittaker, Anglican divine of the early nineteenth century, is perhaps the last writer of serious credentials to assert it (An Historical and Critical Inquiry into the Interpretation of the Hebrew Scriptures [Cambridge, 1819–20], p. 50 ff.: not seen). His faulty argumentation was the occasion of establishing the contrary conclusion more firmly than before; and it led to discovering precisely Coverdale's main source, the Zurich Bible, with which we shall be presently occupied. See Westcott, General View, p. 162, f. n. 5.

[8] State Papers Published under the Authority of His Majesty's Commission: I King Henry the Eighth, Part II Correspondence between the King and his Ministers, 1530–1547 (London, 1831), 576. See also p. 578, no. 108.

Swiss version of Zwingli and Leo Judä, in the dialect of Zurich, and printed at Zurich 1524–29; the Latin version of Pagninus, the first edition of which bears the date 1528; the German version of Luther; the Latin Vulgate; the Pentateuch (1529–30), and the New Testament (1525) of Tindale.[9]

Since it is with the Psalter this study is concerned, Tindale falls out of account; for his translation did not include it. Of the other four, something should be said, to appreciate duly the direct comparison of Coverdale's text with theirs.

The Vulgate

The Vulgate Psalter, as we have already seen, is a Latin translation from the Septuagint. This translation existed and was in familiar use before St. Jerome, who revised it, somewhat cursorily, for closer conformity to the Greek. For a thousand years thereafter it was accepted throughout Christendom as the standard version. The Book of Psalms was always one of the most popular, one of the most widely influential of all the books of the Christian Bible. It had been more frequently translated into the vernacular of England, beginning with the Anglo-Saxon versions, than any other;[10] and a Latin text was the source of all of these. Any translator, and especially a churchman like Coverdale, was bound to be influenced by the Vulgate.

A particularly striking case of his respect for this version has been signalized by Lovett.[11] Psalm xiv (Vulgate xiii), beginning in Coverdale, "The foolish bodyes saye in their hertes: Tush, there is no God," contains the following passage:

> Their throte is an open sepulcre, with their tonges they have disceaued, the poyson of Aspes is under their lippes. Their mouth is full of cursinge and bytterness, their fete are swift to shed bloude. Destruccion and wretchednes are in their wayes, and the waye of peace haue they not knowne: there is no feare off God before their eyes.

Marginal notes in the Coverdale Bible inform the reader that these verses are found in Romans iii, and that they are not in the Hebrew. Nor are they in the German versions, Lutheran or

[9] "Miles Coverdale and the English Bible," p. 311.

[10] Cf. Karl d. Bülbring, The Earliest Complete English Prose Psalter, in Early English Text Society, Original Series, no. 97 (London, 1891), p. i.

[11] P. 61 f.

Zwinglian, nor in Pagnini's Latin.[12] But they are in the Vulgate, and had been there from time immemorial.[13] From the Vulgate, Coverdale received them.

Martin Luther

The leaven of Luther's early writings was at work at Cambridge when England and Henry VIII were still united by ancient ties with papal Christendom. "Germany" was a local nickname of the house where Lutheran sympathizers at Cambridge gathered in the later twenties of the sixteenth century. Among these, English Augustinians were to be found, including Miles Coverdale. It is not surprising that their interest should be keen in the unfolding rôle of the Augustinian of Erfurt and of Wittenberg.

The Luther Bible was the work of years, appearing in a series of partial editions beginning in 1522, and reaching its first complete edition in 1531. In the last full year of Luther's

[12] Miss Winifred V. Eisenberg, Assistant Librarian, Krauth Memorial Library, Lutheran Seminary, Mt. Airy, Philadelphia, has verified Pagnini's fidelity here to the Hebrew by consulting the copy of his original edition (Lyons, 1528), in the Seminary collection. There is no sign in his text or accompanying it of the imported verses. I am grateful to Miss Eisenberg both for this personal service, and for procuring the photostats which I have used of other parts of the Pagnini Bible.

[13] They were read in the churches as part of the Latin version of Psalm xiii (Heb. xiv) in the time of St. Jerome. Eustochium called his attention to this fact, and to St. Paul's apparent dependence on this very text, as a difficulty against his opinion that the Apostles invoked the Septuagint only when it was sustained by the Hebrew. "Quod cum audissem," he writes of her objection, "quasi a fortissimo pugile percussus essem, coepi tacitus aestuare, et stuporem mentis uultus pallore signare." (Commentary on Isaias, XVI, introd.: Migne, P. L. XXIV, 547.) He devoted a day, he says, to the solution. The passage as quoted by St. Paul to the Romans (iii, 10–18), is a composite of several texts from the Psalms and from Isaias, with a quotation from Psalm xiii in the first place. (For the full analysis, see Jerome, loc. cit., or Westcott and Hort, N. T. in the Original Greek, appendix "Quotations from the O. T.") The Apostle, says St. Jerome, was therefore in no wise exceeding the Hebrew canon; on the contrary, readers of St. Paul made the mistake of referring his long series of quotations to a single source. The resultant surcharge in Psalm xiii could not, he points out, have belonged to the primitive Septuagint; though he notes its presence in the common Greek text of his time. Indeed, we may add, it stands in such celebrated manuscripts as the Vaticanus and the Sinaiticus. The Alexandrinus omits it; and one of the post-contemporary correctors of ℵ (C^{a}) has inserted deletion hooks about it. It must have entered early into the Christian Psalter.

life, 1545, appeared the last original edition of his complete translation.

He was a tireless reviser; and this holds true especially of his work on the Psalms.[14] His first complete Psalter came out in 1524. New printings or new editions followed year after year, as parts of larger units of the Bible and as separate issues. It would be interesting to know which of them was most familiar to Coverdale. In any case, the Coverdale Bible of 1535 could not reflect Luther's revisions of later date.

The chief virtue of Luther the translator lay doubtless in his mastery of the people's tongue. Let us not resist an occasion of recalling his famous advice to translators:

> You must not ask the letters in the Latin language, as these asses do, how to talk German; on the contrary, on that subject you must ask the mother at home, the children on the streets, the plain man in the market place, and see how they talk, on the mouth, and translate accordingly. Then they will understand it, and take notice that you are talking German to them.[15]

In this matter of striking the living style of the people, Luther's German Bible surpassed everything that had yet been seen. The point is suggestive in connection with Coverdale, whose style is milder indeed than Luther's, but racy of the English soil.

Thanks to an immense activity of able scholars upon the history of Luther's monumental work, our knowledge of his literary sources is well established. Eberhard Nestle has given the following account of them:

> The translation flows from the original text. For the Old Testament, the edition of Brescia, 1494, lay before him (Luther's copy, of handbook size,

[14] "Mit ganz besonderer Sorgfalt feilte Luther immer aufs neue an den sich mehrenden Ausgaben der Psalmen, und man gewahrt recht gut, wie es ihm hier galt, nicht bloss die Worte widerzugeben, sondern auch seiner Übersetzung das dichterische Gefuhl und den Schwung des heiligen Urtextes einzuhauchen." Hartmann Grisar, Luther III (Freiburg im Breisgau, 1912), 420.

[15] "Sendbrief vom Dolmetschen": see Dr. Martin Luthers Werke, Kritische Gesamtausgabe, XXX, ii (Weimar, 1909), 637. The sense of "asses" is clarified in the context (p. 635): "Wann ewr Papist sich vil unnůtze machen wil mit dem wort 'Sola Allein' so sagt im flugs also: Doctor Martinus Luther wils also haben, unnd spricht, Papist und Esel sey ein ding. *Sic uolo, sic iubeo, sit pro ratione uoluntas.*" The Sendbrief, written and published in 1530, is Luther's apology for his "allein durch den Glauben," Romans iii, 28. I am indebted to Father Alcuin Hemmen, O.S.B., for friendly aid on points of Luther's idiom.

now in Berlin). Alongside this were the Septuagint, the Vulgate, the Latin translations of Sante Pagnini and of Sebastian Münster, among commentaries especially the *Glossa ordinaria* and Nicholas of Lyra.[16]

Sante Pagnini

We have seen the name of Sante Pagnini [17] mentioned among the sources of Luther and of Coverdale. His is the first complete Latin translation of the Hebrew Bible made in modern times.[18] It was the work of a specialist, whose Hebrew lexicon [19] appeared shortly after his Bible. He had devoted twenty-five years to the translation, beginning in 1493. Only after a prolonged delay, following the death in 1521 of his patron Leo X, did he achieve publication. The title page is dated 1528.[20]

This Dominican friar, who had been a pupil of Savonarola, has played a part of distinguished merit in the history of Biblical studies. His work, at the other pole in this respect from

[16] Eberhard Nestle, "Bibelübersetzungen deutsche," in Herzog-Hauck, Realencykl. f. protestantische Theologie und Kirche, III (Leipzig, 1897), 72. For Luther and his work I have relied greatly on Nestle, on Johannes Janssen, Geschichte des deutschen Volkes, VII (editions 13 and 14 revised by Ludwig Pastor, Freiburg im Breisgau, 1904), and on Grisar, cited in f. n. 14. From Janssen, p. 645, f. n. 3, I draw an important quotation of Johann Bachmann, Altestamentliche Untersuchungen I (Berlin, 1894), 101 ff., Appendix iv, on Luther's proficiency in Hebrew. In celebration of the Luther anniversary, 1883, Bachmann had prepared a special study based on the marginal notes in Luther's copy of the Hebrew Bible:

> Alles in allem: Man findet nicht in dem kostbaren Bibelexemplar des grossen Mannes, was man erwartet. Das Hebräische war eben nicht seine Sache; drum hielt er sich an den Text der Vulgata und Septuaginta: ohne Zweifel zu Nutz und Frommen seiner schöner deutschen Bibelübersetzung. Er gab dem griechischen Text den Vorzug vor dem masoretischen.

Most of the marginal notes in this Hebrew Bible, Janssen observes, are found to be not of Luther's hand, but of a German Jew, a former owner of the book.

[17] This form of the name I adopt from the Enciclopedia Italiana, XXV (Rome, 1935), where a brief biography is found. The name on the title page of his works appears in the ablative as Sancte Pagnino, authorizing Sanctes Pagninus as the Latin form. The variants Santes and Xantes occur.

[18] E. Nestle, "Bibelübersetzungen, lateinische," Herzog-Hauck, III, 51.

[19] A copy of this Thesaurus Linguae Sanctae (Lyons, 1529) is in the Rare Book Room, General Library, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor.

[20] Biblia. Habes in hoc libro prudens lector utriusque instrumenti nouam translationem aeditam a reuerendo sacrae theologiae doctore Sancte Pagnino lucensi conciona-tore apostolico Praedicatorii ordinis. . . . The work was printed at Lyons.

Luther's, was addressed in the first instance to scholars. The painstaking transliteration of Hebrew proper names is one of the first traits to strike the reader's eye. He allowed the Vulgate to influence his style; but the *hebraica ueritas*, as St. Jerome would say, was his immediate source and basic norm. Few of the vernacular versions of which the next hundred years is so prolific can have escaped the influence of Pagnini. In a notable passage of the King James Version (Isaias liii, 3), Westcott attributes to him the "noble rendering," *a man of sorrows and acquainted with grief*.[21] Pagnini's influence was magnified through Arias Montano's Antwerp Polyglot (1569–1572); for the Spanish scholar added, as an interlinear translation of the Hebrew, a revision of Pagnini's Latin.

The Zurich Bible

The universal sufficiency and necessity of the Bible was asserted with incisive force by Ulrich Zwingli after his promotion to Zurich in 1519.[22] At the same time he understood well the importance of social institutions. Co-ordinate with the liquidation under his leadership of the Catholic pattern around him, went the fusion of all authority, temporal and spiritual, into a single polity. This authority created, in turn, a public school of Bible studies which Zwingli called *die Prophezei*.[23] Here notable scholars in Hebrew, Greek and Latin lectured five days a week, taking the ancient texts of Old and New Testaments as their subject-matter. Zwingli opened the lessons on the 19th of June, 1524.[24] From such a center, important contributions to the vernacular editions of the Bible were bound to come.

[21] General View, p. 261.

[22] On Zwingli, I have used especially Emil Egli's art. "Zwingli, Ulrich (Huldreich), 1484–1531," in Herzog-Hauck, XXI (Leipzig, 1908), 774–815. For the history of the Zurich Bible, I depend upon Johann Jakob Mezger, Geschichte der deutschen Bibelübersetzungen in der schweizerischreformirten Kirche von der Reformation bis zur Gegenwart (Basel, 1876). (Loaned by the Library of Congress.)

[23] With allusion to I Cor. xiv (Mezger, p. 68).

[24] Mezger gives the names of the following celebrities connected in Zwingli's time with his school: Conrad Pellicanus, Jacob Ceporinus, Andreas Boschenstein, Theodore Bibliander, Peter Martyr, Oswald Myconius, Leo Judä, Caspar Megander, Johann Amman, and Heinrich Bullinger. Of Judä, Mezger writes, p. 68: "Bald wurde auch der

Luther's translation, however, was under way, part by part, ginning with his New Testament in 1522; and in 1524 Zurich's nowned printer, Christopher Froschouer, had begun his re- blication of Luther's Bible, assimilated to the German dialect the Swiss city. After the appearance of the New Testament, e Pentateuch, the historical, and the poetical books of the d Testament were in the same way adapted from the Witten- rg editions. Luther's translation of the Prophets and of the pocrypha,[25] however, was delayed; and in the year 1529 roschouer combined with his previous parts translations of ese by the Zurich scholars to form a new and complete edition both Testaments, the Zurich Bible. Leo Judä is named as e translator of the Apocrypha. The authorship of the Proph- s is assigned to the Preachers of Zurich, without further ecision.[26]

In Froschouer's re-edition of 1531, Luther's version of the etical books was replaced by a new one, made by the Zurich ranslators, an independent version as the Foreword promised. choes of Luther, says Johann Mezger, are rarely to be found it.[27] No authors are named. Zwingli had made his own ranslation of the Psalms from the Hebrew into German; this not what we read in the new Zurich version; his influence, owever, is certainly to be traced in it.[28] After this "combina- on" Bible of 1531 there were no further substitutions of uther's parts by others.

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ann zu dieser Thätigkeit berufen, welcher die Seele der Zurcherschen Übersetzungs- beit werden sollte, Leo Judä, Zwinglis Freund und Studiengenosse aus Rappolds- eiler im Elsass."

[25] By the Apocrypha of the Old Testament in the Protestant Bibles are to be under- ood the Deuterocanonicals of the Catholic.

[26] The title page of the new part is quoted by Mezger, p. 77, as follows: Das vierde l des alten testaments. Alle Propheten uss ebreischer sprach, mitt gutem trüwenn and hohem flyss, durch die Predicanten zu Zurich, in Tutsch vertolmätschet. Judä named as sole translator in the title of the Apocrypha (Mezger, p. 85).

[27] Mezger, p. 95.

[28] Mezger, pp. 98–101.

The Collation

Recapitulating our discussion of the sources of Coverdale's Bible, and centering our attention on the Psalms, we have a chronological order as follows:

The Vulgate Psalter.	V
Luther's Psalter, first complete edition, 1524.	L
Pagnini, 1528.	P
The Zurich Psalter of 1531.	Z
Coverdale, 1535.	C

In my collation of the Vulgate, the Clementine Text (1592) was followed. The printed editions, beginning with Gutenburg's in 1456, of the Latin Bible of medieval tradition are said to have numbered over a hundred before the end of the fifteenth century. Many more would have been added before Coverdale translated the Psalms. It would probably require a labyrinthine search to establish with some security the special text he used. I have encountered no evidence to excite the hope that such a search, even if successful, would materially alter results in the present study.

The story might be a little different in the case of the Luther Psalter. For this, I have reconstructed the text of 1524 from two sources: Luther's manuscript, scrupulously edited in the Weimar corpus,[29] and the critical edition by Bindseil and Niemeyer of the Luther Bible.[30] The latter source provides a copious apparatus of various readings from Luther's printed editions. It justifies the inference that Coverdale followed a text of the Psalms closely similar to that of 1524, of a text at all events not yet exhibiting the typical traits of Luther's later Psalter, as he left it in 1545.

In the case of Pagnini, there is no problem; for no re-edition of his work between 1528, when it appeared, and Coverdale's, in 1535, is recorded. I have had a photostat of the relevant folio for the collation.[31]

[29] Luthers Werke, Kritische Gesamtausgabe: Der Deutsche Bibel I (Weimar, 1906), 453 ff.; Einleitung, pp. xiv, xvii.

[30] Heinrich Ernst Bindseil and Hermann Agathon Niemeyer, Dr. Martin Luthers Bibelübersetzung nach der letzten Original-Ausgabe kritisch bearbeitet III (Halle, 1850).

[31] See f. n. 12.

The Zurich Psalter of 1531 reappears in a Froschouer edition 1534, the last that Coverdale could have seen before he delivered his manuscript to the printer of his Bible of 1535. According to Mezger, the difference between Froschouer's edition 1534 and that of 1531 concerns accessory matters only, not the text. He speaks similarly of the quarto in two parts of 1538, a reassuring testimony in the instance, since it is with this edition my collation with Coverdale has been made.[32]

For the text of Coverdale, I have had at my disposal the original of the 1535 Bible kept in the Rare Book Room of the Newberry Library, as well as Professor Willoughby's facsimile of the Psalter.[33]

The variants are exhibited in a double apparatus in which Coverdale readings are compared first with the Latin sources and then with the German. It would have been a simple matter to reduce all this to a single scheme; but I believe the classified arrangement eases the eye considerably. A polyglot apparatus is somewhat recalcitrant to grace.

It remains only to say that the Psalm collated was selected for special attention on grounds that had originally nothing to do with the present study.

Psalm LXXXIV

O how amiable are thy dwellinges, thou Lorde of hoostes!
2 My soule hath a desyre and longinge for the courte of the Lorde, my hert and my flesh reioyse in the lyuynge God.
4 For the sparow hath founde hir an house, and the swalowe

: VP 1 o: *om* VP amiable: VP dilecta thou: *om* VP hoostes = P exercituum: V uirtutum
2 hath . . . longinge: V concupiscit et deficit: P concupiuit et etiam desiderauit courte: VP atria

[32] Bibel Teütsch der ursprünglichen Hebreischen und Griechischen warheyt nach uffs treüwlichest verdolmetschet. . . . Getruckt zů Zürich bey Christoffel Froschouer in Jar als man zalt M.D.XXXVIII. (Loaned by the University of Chicago.) On peculiarities of this dialectic version, I enjoyed the valuable advice of Professor Norman Willey of the German faculty, University of Michigan.

[33] These have been mentioned above in footnotes 6 and 3 (no. 5). I have also used a microfilm of the British Museum copy. Like the microfilms mentioned in later footnotes, this of Coverdale is from the University of Michigan set of Microfilms of Books Printed in England before 1600 (Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, in course of publication). The Library Staff of the University of Michigan has in hand the official cataloguing of this collection, to which a number of libraries have subscribed.

3 my . . . flesh = VP cor meum et caro mea reioyse in: V exultauerunt in: P laudabunt
4 sparow = VP passer hir = V sibi: *om* P house = VP domum swalowe = P hirundo: V turtur

C: LZ 1 o: *om* LZ amiable: LZ lieblich thou: *om* LZ hoostes = Z heerzeugen: L zebaoth
2 hath . . . longinge = Z hat ein begird und verlangen: L verlanget und ist all worden courte = Z hŏf: L vorhoffen
3 my . . . flesh = Z mein hertz und mein fleysch: L meyn hertz und leyb reioyse in = L frewen sich ynn: Z hat - - - ein frŏudreychen lust zu
4 sparow = Z spar: L vogel hir: *om* LZ house = L haus: Z behausung swalowe = L schwalbe: Z turteltreiblin

C a nest, where she may laye hir yonge: euen thy aulters
6 O Lorde of hoostes, my kynge and my God. O how blessed are they that dwell in thy house, they are allwaye praysinge
8 the. Blessed are the men whose strength is in the, in

C: VP 5 where . . . yonge = VP ubi ponat (P in quo poneret) pullos suos aulters = VP altaria
6 o: *om* VP hoostes = P exercituum: V uirtutum my kynge = VP rex meus (P mi) 6–7 o how . . . they: VP beati
7 that dwell . . . house = V qui habitant in domo tua: P habitatores domus tuae 7–8 they are . . . the 1°: VP in saecula saeculorum (P in saeculum *tantum*) laudabunt te
8 *om* selah *post* the 1° = V: P sélah blessed . . . men: VP beatus vir (P homo) whose . . . the = P cuius fortitudo in te: V cuius est auxilium abs te 8–9 in whose . . . wayes: P uiae in corde eorum: V ascensiones in corde suo disposuit

C: LZ 5 where . . . yonge = L da sie ihre iungen hynlegt: Z seinen jungen aulters: LZ alltar (Z altar)
6 o = Z: *om* L hoostes = Z heerzeugen: L zebaoth my kynge = L meyn konig: Z du mein künig 6–7 o how . . . they = Z o wie sålig sind die: L woll denen
7 that dwell . . . house = LZ die ynn (Z in) deynen (Z deinen) house wonen (Z wonend) 7–8 they are . . . the 1° = L die loben dich ymer dar: Z und dich lobend
8 *om* selah *post* the 1°: L sela Z såla blessed . . . men: L wol den menschen: Z wol denen whose . . . the = L der stercke ynn dyr ist: z deren stercke du bist 8–9 in whose . . . wayes = L der bäne ynn yhren hertzen sind: Z in denen herz dein lob ist

C whose herte are thy wayes. Which goinge thorow the vale
10 of mysery, use it for a well, and the poles are fylled with water. They go from strength to strength and so the
12 God of Gods appeareth unto them in Sion. O Lorde God of

C: VP 9 9–10 which . . . mysery: V in ualle lacrimarum *tantum*: P transeuntes per uallem habachah
10 use . . . well: P fontem ponent eam: V in loco quem posuit the poles . . . water = P piscinas operiet pluuia: V benedictionem dabit legislator

11 they . . . strength 2°: V ibunt de uirtute in uirtutem: P ibunt de exercitu ad exercitum 11–12 and . . . sion: VP uidebitur deus deorum in sion (P siión)
12 god of gods = VP deus deorum o: *om* VP

C: LZ 9 9–10 which . . . mysery = L die durch das iamer tal gehen: Z dann so sy in dem tal der trahen (tränen) wandelnd
10 use . . . well = Z so brauchend sy es für ein brunnen: L und machens zum brunnen the poles . . . water = L teiche werden mit regen erfüllet: Z der fürer wirt mit frolocken geziert
11 they . . . strength 2°: Z gond von radt zů radt: L sie gehen von einer stercke zur andern 11–12 and . . . sion = Z denn erschynet inen der gott in zion: L und erschynen bey gott zu zion
12 god of gods: LZ gott *tantum* o = Z: *om* L

C hoostes, heare my prayer; herken O God of Jacob. Beholde
14 o God oure defence, loke upon the face of thyne anoynted. For one daye in thy courte is better then a thousande. I
16 had rather be a dorekeper in the house of my God, then

C: VP 13 hoostes = P exercituum: V uirtutum my = VP meam herken = P ausculta: V auribus percipe o: *om* VP *om* selah *post* jacob = V: P sélah beholde = V aspice: P uide
14 o: *om* VP defence: V protector: Z clypeum loke upon: V et respice in P et aspice thyne = VP tui anoynted: VP christi
15 courte: VP atriis better = P melior: V super a thousande = P mille: V millia
16 be a dorekeper: P esse in limine: V abiectus esse house of my god = VP domo dei mei 16–17 then to dwell = VP magis quam habitare

C: LZ 13 hoostes = Z heerzeügen: L zebaoth my = L meyn: Z unser herken: L vernyms Z vernim̃s o = Z: *om* L *om* selah *post* jacob: L sela Z såla beholde = L schaw: Z besich uns
14 o = Z: *om* L defence: L schild Z schilt loke upon = L sihe an: Z und schauw in thyne = Z deines: L unsers anoynted = LZ gesalbten
15 courte: L vorhoffen Z ho̊fen better = L besser: Z lieblicher a thousande = L tausent: Z sunst tausent
16 be a dorekeper = Z ein thürhůter sein: L der thur huten house of my god = Z hauss meines gottes: L meyns gottes hause 16–17 then to dwell = Z dan - - - wonenn: L denn lange wonen

C to dwell in the tentes of the ungodly. For the Lorde God
18 is a light and defence, the Lorde wil geue grace and worshipe, and no good thinge shal he witholde from them, that lyue a
20 godly life. O Lorde God of hoostes, blessed is the man, that putteth his trust in the.

C: VP 17 tentes . . . ungodly: V tabernacula peccatorum: P tabernaculis impietatis the lorde god: V deus: Z dominus
18 is a light and defence: P quia sol et scutum *tantum*: V quia misericordiam et ueritatem diligit worshipe: VP gloriam
19 and: *om* VP witholde from them = V priuabit - - - eos: P pro-

hibebit 19–20 that lyue . . . life: V qui ambulant in innocentia: P ambulantibus perfecte

20 o: *om* VP hoostes = P exercituum: V uirtutum 20–21 that putteth . . . the: VP qui sperat in te

C: LZ 17 tentes . . . ungodly = Z hůtten der gottlosen: L gottlosen hutten the lorde god = Z der herr gott: L gott der herr

18 is a light and defence = Z ist ein liecht uñ schirm: L ist sonn und schild worshipe = L ehre: Z macht

19 and: *om* LX witholde from them = Z denen entziehen: L (es wird) mangeln denen 19–20 that lyue . . . life: Z die frommklich labend: L die on wandel leben

20 o: *om* LZ hoostes = Z heerscharen: L zebaoth 20–21 that putteth . . . the: L der sich auf dich verlesset: Z die in dich vertrauwend

The Remote Source

At no point in the analysis of Coverdale's readings has it appeared likely that the Hebrew influenced his translation directly. The reader of the apparatus will not have failed to notice, however, that a number of his readings represent an option between variations in his sources so remarkable as to call for explanation. Here the Hebrew becomes at once an indispensable key to an understanding of our material, whether Coverdale himself consulted it or not. The principal cases of this description are as follows.

8–9 in . . . wayes] מְסִלּוֹת בִּלְבָבָם *highways are in their hearts.* מְסִלָּה is properly a road thrown up (cf. סלל), an embanked road. It occurs in Isaias xl, 3, a well-known place, translated in the King James version, "Make straight in the desert a highway for our God." Arias Montano, in his revision of Pagnini's rendering of the Hebrew Bible, emphasizes the literal sense even in our Psalm: *uiae stratae in corde eorum.* (Psalmi Davidis Hebraici cum interlineari versione Xantis Pagnini, Ben. Ariae Montani et aliorum collato studio ad Hebraicam dictionem diligentissime expensa. Ex officina Plantiana Raphelengii [Leyden], 1615). "The ascents to Zion in the mind of the pious" is the paraphrase in Brown's Gesenius (Boston, 1906, s.v. מְסִלָּה ad loc.). This would sort equally well with the conjectural variant, מַעֲלוֹת *ascents*, which is adopted in our place, by Buhl's Gesenius (Leipzig, 1915), s.v. מְסִלָּה, in the wake of LXX *ἀναβάσεις* (Vulgate *ascensiones*).

9–10 vale of mysery] עֵמֶק הַבָּכָא valley of the BACA. All ancient translators (LXX, Aq., Sym., Jerome *iuxta Hebraeos*) take the term בָּכָא in this passage as expressing or including the idea of weeping. (LXX *κλαυθμών*, by its formation, like the medieval Latin *ploratorium*, handkerchief, would be *place of weeping.*) Yet the word is extremely rare in Biblical

Hebrew; and in this place alone is the sense of weeping convenient. In the only other context in which it occurs (II Sam. v, 24 and its parallel, I Chron. xiv, 14–15), it is the name of a tree. The word does mean weeping in Aramaic (see Dalman, Aramäisch neuhebräisches Handwörterbuch zu Targum, Talmud und Midrasch[2], Frankfort on Main, 1922), and looks rather like a cognate of the verb בָּכָה, which is ordinary for weeping in the Old Testament. The change of final ה to א, especially after ָ, is noted by Gesenius-Kautzsch, Hebräische Grammatik [26] (Leipzig, 1896), as a common phenomenon of late orthography: "nach späterer und aramäischer Orthographie" (p. 76, Anm. 1). On the acceptation of בָּכָא in our Psalm, modern scholars are divided. Pagnini is the earliest one I have noticed who takes it as a proper name and transcribes instead of translating it: *in ualle Habbachah*. The same scholar, in his Hebrew Lexicon (Thesaurus Linguae Sanctae, Lyons, 1529, s.v.), translates it in all its occurrences, *morus*, mulberry tree. In English, the King James version introduced Pagnini's expedient: "through the valley of Baca," a solution retained by J. M. Powis Smith in a modern version (Old Testament, American Translation, Chicago, 1927).

10 use it for a well] מַעְיָן יְשִׁיתוּהוּ *a spring they make it* (Jerome *iuxta Hebraeos*: *fontem ponent eam*). מַעְיָן, *a spring, a well*, is used metaphorically of a source of joy, of well-being, and may be so intended in the Psalm (so Brown's Gesenius, s.v.). Kittel's apparatus (Biblia Hebraica, Part II, Leipzig, 1913) reports one of his Masoretic manuscripts in our passage for מָעוֹן, *dwelling, habitation*, which may be the origin of LXX εἰς τόπον (Vulgate *in loco*). This is complemented by the clause ὃν ἔθετο (Vulgate *quem posuit*), which argues a slightly different form of the verb יְשִׁיתוּהוּ *they make it* (the valley), from שִׁית, *put, set, make*. Kittel's apparatus *ad loc.* notes one Masoretic manuscript for the singular, יְשִׁיתֵהוּ, which the LXX implies.

10 the poles are filled with water] גַּם-בְּרָכוֹת יַעְטֶה מוֹרֶה *yes, the early rain clothes* (it) *with blessings*. (1) ברכות could be plural of either בְּרָכָה *blessing* (cf. Genesis xlix, 25–6) or בְּרֵכָה *pool* (Ecclesiastes ii, 6). Modern lexicons (Brown's Gesenius, Boston, 1906, Buhl's Gesenius, Leipzig, 1915) take it here in the former sense (LXX εὐλογίας [acc.], Vulgate *benedictionem*). (2) יַעְטֶה, Hiphil of עָטָה, to *clothe*: so, for our passage, Brown's Gesenius and Buhl's Gesenius, s.v. Eduard König, Hebräisches und aramäisches Wörterbuch zum Alten Testament[2 and 3], Leipzig, 1922, recognizes עטה for our passage alone in the sense *darreichen*, to *give*, comparing Arabic use, and quoting LXX δώσει, whence Vulgate *dabit*. (H. B. Swete, Introduction to the Old Testament in Greek, revised by R. R. Ottley, Cambridge, 1914, has a suggestive footnote on this point. Eberhard Nestle, he observes, quotes this δώσει among examples of LXX mistakes due to Aramaic or, in the instance, Arabic colloquialisms. Op. cit., p. 319.) (3) מוֹרֶה. The verb יָרָה, *throw, shoot*, in Hiphil has the force, *throw water, rain*; also, *direct, teach*. To this root is referred the noun מוֹרֶה, meaning a. *early rain*,

and b. *teacher*. (So Brown's Gesenius.) Akin to this latter sense is LXX *νομοθετῶν*, in our passage, from which comes the Vulgate *legislator*.

From the foregoing analysis we now see how the same Hebrew text could give rise to translations so disparate as (a) LXX *καὶ γὰρ εὐλογίας δώσει ὁ νομοθετῶν*, whence Vulgate *etenim benedictionem dabit legislator*; (b) Luther *und teiche werden mit regen erfüllet* = Pagnini *etiam piscinas operiet pluuia* = Coverdale *and the poles are filled with water*; (c) Zurich Bible *der fürer wirt mit frolocken geziert*; (d) Brown's Gesenius (with modern scholars generally) *yea, the early rain covereth* (the valley) *with blessings*.

11–12 the God of Gods appeareth unto them in Sion] יֵרָאֶה אֶל-אֱלֹהִים בְּצִיּוֹן *he shall be seen before God in Sion*. In this striking text, Coverdale followed the conception of the Vulgate, accepted by Pagnini, *uidebitur deus deorum in Sion*, and by the Zurich Bible *denn erschynet inen der Gott in Zion*, against Luther *sie . . . erscheynen bey Gott zu Sion*, which is an exact translation (except for the stylistic plural) of the Masoretic text. The Vulgate, or rather its source, the LXX *ὀφθήσεται ὁ θεὸς τῶν θεῶν ἐν Σιών*, implies the noun אֵל, God, instead of the preposition אֶל, *unto*. אֵל אֱלֹהִים (LXX *θεὸς θεῶν*) is the accepted reading in Psalm l, 1. Moses Buttenweiser, The Psalms chronologically arranged with a new Translation (Chicago 1938), affirms this reading, and repoints also the verb יראה, making it active, *he will see* (יִרְאֶה). (Op. cit., p. 778.) Professor Buttenweiser translates boldly and beautifully: "He will behold God Almighty in Zion." (Ibid., p. 774.)

The Analysis of Coverdale

Having seen the genesis of these extraordinary variations in the sources, we are now free to pursue the main matter, Coverdale's indebtedness to his sources. The story lies largely revealed in the mere presentation of text and apparatus. Some of the more notable features invite analysis.

The Vulgate has left its own distinctive trace in the Coverdale version of Psalm lxxxiv. The welcome English dative in the phrase "the sparow hath found hir an house" (line 3) corresponds to the Latin *sibi*. The omission of *selah*, on two occasions (lines 8, 13), is due to the Vulgate.[34]

The Vulgate and Pagnini together set the example, *altaria*, for the plural "aulters" (line 5); and make the notable contribution "God of gods" (*deus deorum*, line 12) in a text discussed above.

[34] This, like the omission or partial omission of titles, though not consistently observed, is frequent in the Psalter of 1535. Our Psalm there has the shortened title, "A psalme of the children of Corah."

Pagnini by himself has left a fainter impress. His *ausculta* (line 13) would easily yield "herken," which is certainly not suggested by the German or the Vulgate variants. His readings probably lent weight to Coverdale's choice where they stand in support of Luther or of the Zurich Bible against an alternative. Thus Coverdale consistently translates "hoostes" with Pagnini (*exercituum*) and the Zurich Bible (*heerzeügen* or *heerscharen*), where the Vulgate has *uirtutum* and Luther, *zebaoth* (lines 1, 6, 13, 20). He follows Luther and Pagnini in the notable translation "the poles are fylled with water" (line 10 f. *teiche werden mit regen erfüllet*; *piscinas operiet pluuia*). If attention were confined to this Psalm alone, the proof that Pagnini was a source of Coverdale would scarcely be decisive.

Luther's independent influence is in greater evidence than that of either Latin version, old or new. Neglecting lesser traits (in lines 3, 14, 18), we notice three salient cases. Coverdale's "they are alwaye praysinge the" (line 7 f.) is very close to Luther's *die loben dich ymer dar*; "in whose herte are thy wayes" (line 8 f.), to *der bañe ynn yhren hertzen sind*; and "which goinge thorow this vale of mysery" (line 9 f.), to *die durch das iamer tal gehen*. In this last example Coverdale's variation on the traditional *vale of tears* (Vulgate *in ualle lacrimarum*, Zurich *tal der trähen*), is in direct line with Luther's *iamer tal*.

It was evidently the Zurich Psalter that appealed to Coverdale most of all. Compare the phrase "hath a desire and longinge" (line 2) with *hat ein begird und verlangen*; "O how blessed are they" (line 6 f.) with *o wie sälig sind die*; "use it for a well" (line 10) with *so brauchend sy es für ein brunnen*; "be a dorekeper" (line 16) with *ein thürhüter sein*; "is a light and defence" (line 18) with *ist ein liecht und schirm*. This is copious proof of Coverdale's indebtedness to the German-Swiss translators; but it is not all. To them he owes delicate touches of style that should not escape attention. He has two more O's of exclamation or address in the course of this Psalm (lines 1, 20) than they; but they have five, all retained by him (line 6 twice, 12, 13, 14); and this use is without precedent in the other sources. Once Coverdale with happy effect has "thou" before a divine title of address ("thou Lorde of hoostes," line 1). This is sup-

ported by none; but the Zurich translators, and they alone, have *du* in a parallel case, *du mein künig und mein Gott* (line 6), which suggests the source of Coverdale's inspiration. "Courte" (line 2) follows Zurich *hôf*, where the rest have a plural; and Coverdale has retained this singular in another place (line 15), where even the Zurich version, with *hôfen*, joins the others.

There is little in this specimen of Coverdale to suggest other sources than his usual ones. An exception, however, may be noted, the use of "amiable" (line 1) for *dilecta*, in the Latin, and *lieblich* in the German versions. This is a suggestive trait; for the opening of our Psalm in the Roman Psalter, unlike the Vulgate, is *Quam amabilia*. The Roman Psalter had been used in England until the Norman Conquest; [35] Coverdale may have known it; or Roman readings may have reached him through their infiltrations into editions of the Vulgate.

We may say in rapid summary that in Psalm lxxxiv Coverdale relies eminently upon the Zurich translators and notably upon Luther; while the characteristic influence of the Vulgate makes itself felt; and Pagnini is largely subsidiary.

We have left without comment elements of the English text evidently based on a general agreement of the sources. There is little in Coverdale's work that has no precedent in them. In this sense, his version is remarkably derivative. Yet that fact points by striking contrast the equally remarkable originality of it. One has but to read the English Psalm again to see how good it is, how even in style and limpid, how well adapted to popular, English piety. This success, Coverdale's sources could not bestow on him; it is his own achievement.

The Revision

The English Bible of 1535 was followed by another, in 1537, combining parts of Tindale's translation with parts of Cover-

[35] M. R. James, The Canterbury Psalter (London, 1935), p. 2. This is a facsimile, preceded by an introduction, of a beautiful manuscript of the 12th century from the hand of Eadwine, monk of Christ Church, Canterbury. Its title, in an ancient catalogue published by Provost James, is Tripartitum Psalterium Edwini. St. Jerome's version from the Hebrew, the Roman version and the Gallican are here given side by side with interlinear and marginal matter and a wealth of illustrations copied from the Utrecht Psalter.

dale. It was annotated in a militantly Protestant spirit, with the fictitious name of Thomas Matthew on the title page.[36] Cromwell and Cranmer had promoted this edition, which was really the work of Tindale's follower, John Rogers, and obtained for it a royal license. The memory of Tindale, however, was not of good omen in Henry's circle; nor was Protestantism; and the high patrons of the Matthew Bible may well have mistrusted the King's reflections on their daring venture.[37] At all events, Coverdale was employed by Cromwell to undertake a revision of it; and under his editorial care the Great Bible came into existence, cleansed of offense, and approved for ecclesiastical use by royal authority. The first edition appeared in 1539.[38]

[36] The Byble which is all the Holy Scripture . . . truly and purely translated into Englyshe by Thomas Matthew. . . . M.D.XXXVII, Set forth with the Kinge's most gracyous lycēce. Pollard and Redgrave, Short Title Catalogue, no. 2066; seen in microfilm. I profited much by comparing a 1549 edition of the same (Pollard and Redgrave 2077) in the Hollands Collection of Old Bibles now in the Rare Book Room of the General Library, University of Michigan, the gift of William C. Hollands, University Binder, in memory of William Tinker Hollands of the Class of 1913. Guppy, "The Royal Injunctions . . . and the Great Bible," has a plate of the original title page.

[37] Guppy, p. 54 ff., and Kenyon, Our Bible and the Ancient Manuscripts, p. 221.

[38] (1) The Byble in Englyshe, that is to saye the content of all the holy scripture, bothe of the old and new testament, truly translated after the veryte of the Hebrue and Greke textes by the dyligent studye of dyverse excellent learned men, expert in the forsayde tonges. Prynted by Richard Grafton and Edward Whitchurch. Cum priuilegio ad impremendum solum. 1539. Pollard and Redgrave 2068; seen in microfilm. (2) The byble in Englyshe of the largest and greatest volume, auctorysed and appoynted by the commaundmente of oure moost redoubted Prynce and souerayne Lorde Kynge Henrye the viii supreme Heade of this his churche and Realme of Englande to be frequented and used in euery church w'in this hys sayd realme, accordynge to the tenour of hys former Iniunctions geuen in that behalfe. Ouersene and perused at the comaundement of the kynges hyghness by the ryghte reuerende fathers in God Cuthbert byshop of Duresme and Nicolas bisshop of Rochester. Printed by Edwarde Whitchurch. Cum priuilegio ad impremendum solum, 1541. Pollard and Redgrave 2075; seen in microfilm. (3) The Byble in Englishe, that is the olde and new Testament, after the translacion appoynted to bee read in the Churches. Imprynted at London in Fletestrete, at the signe of the Sunne ouer agaynste the conduyte, by Edwarde Whitchurch. The xxix day of December the yeare of oure Lorde M.D.XLIX. Hollands Collection, University of Michigan; Pollard and Redgrave 2079. There are many more editions of this official Bible, in whose history the interplay of political and ecclesiastical forces of Henrican England are in striking evidence. The 1540 edition has the name of Thomas (Cranmer), Archbishop of Canterbury in the title, and the first publication of his Prologue. The title-page of the Henrican editions, both in letterpress, which varies, and in the pictorial design, thought to be by Holbein, is an eloquent

Coverdale's basis in producing this new text was the Matthew Bible. The Psalter in this, however, was a reprint of his own, of 1535;[39] so that the Psalms of the Great Bible, which passed into the Prayer Book,[40] are Coverdale's, revised by Coverdale. The sources of his revision, like those of his first edition, have been accurately determined. One of them, the Complutensian Polyglot, is on its own account an achievement of the first order. Coverdale's indebtedness to it in certain parts of his work, as Westcott has shown, is precise; and, as the same high authority suggests,[41] it may have afforded him the "standynge text of the Hebrue, with the interpretacion of the Caldee and the Greke" which, according to Coverdale's correspondence with Cranmer, he followed in preparing the Great Bible. In his revision of the Psalter, however, special influence of the Complutensian has not been asserted. My comparison in the case of Psalm lxxxiv proved entirely negative.

Sebastian Münster

Not so with Sebastian Münster's Latin version. His influence on Coverdale's revised Psalter was so important that Westcott, in three Psalms collated by him, is able to speak of "complete coincidence of all the changes introduced into the Great Bible with Münster's renderings."[42] In our Psalm, we shall find a like result.

Sebastian Münster had adopted the career of scholarship in the Franciscan Order; and when he joined the victorious Prot-

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document. For facsimiles and historical information, see Guppy, "The Royal Injunctions . . . and the Great Bible." Textual changes in successive editions proved unimportant for the purposes of the present study. See, on this subject, Westcott, General View, especially p. 280, f.n. 1.

[39] The Matthew Bible reinstated "selah" after "praysinge the" (lines 7–8); the Great Bible, following the common practice of the new translations and the Masoretic text, retained it here and after "Jacob" (line 13). In the Prayer Book, as in Coverdale 1535, and in the Vulgate, it is omitted, probably with little protest from those who use the Psalter most.

[40] I have used a reproduction in facsimile, The "Book of the Common Prayer" as issued in the year 1549 (Seal Chart near Sevenoaks, Kent: G. Moreton, 1896), folio lxv verso.

[41] General View, p. 180.

[42] General View, p. 184.

stants at the University of Basel in 1529, the opportunity of continuing it under agreeable auspices seems to have been a major consideration.[43] His fame rests mainly on his work as a cosmographer; but his contribution as a Hebraist was great. Our interest lies in his bilingual Old Testament, published at Basel in 1534–1535, in which the Hebrew text is accompanied by a close Latin translation and by a commentary, drawn especially from rabbinical sources.[44] Like Pagnini's similar work, this diglot of Sebastian Münster was of inestimable service to the makers of vernacular versions.

We take up, one by one, the revised readings in the Great Bible edition of Psalm lxxxiv, and note the agreements with Münster.

"My soule hath a desyre and longinge for the courte of the Lorde" in Coverdale, 1535 (line 2) becomes "My soule hath a desyre and longinge to entre into the courtes of the Lorde" in the Great Bible. This is clearly due to Münster, *concupiscentia flagrat atque desiderat anima mea* (*introire*) *in atria domini.* Coverdale here adopts, without Münster's brackets, an interpretative addition that is hardly needed in English. The plural "courtes" is a belated agreement with most of the sources, Münster now included. The same revision is made again in the Great Bible, near the end of the Psalm (line 15).

A palpable point of style is gained in the Great Bible reading, "Yee, the sparow," in place of "For the sparow" (line 4). This is from none of the versions hitherto observed. It is a good rendering of the original, דְּרוֹר, and is conceivably due to it. In

[43] On Münster, see Viktor Hantzsch's monograph, Sebastian Münster, Leben, Werk, Wissenschaftliche Bedeutung, in Abhandl. d. Kön. Sachischen Gesellsch. d. Wissensch., phil.-hist. Cl., XXVIII (Leipzig, 1899), no. 3. On his change of religion, Hantzsch refers to a letter of Boniface Wolfhard to William Farel, written in April, 1530, published in A.-L. Herminjard, Correspondance des Réformateurs dans les pays de langue française II (2nd edit., Geneva, 1878), no. 289. Wolfhard had himself received an invitation to the chair of Hebrew at Basel, but had declined it in Münster's favor, knowing that on no other condition could the latter be torn from his cowl (*e cuculla posse avelli*). It is sad, he writes, that Christ is not served without mundane inducement. *Gaudeo tamen quacunque occasione a Satanae ministerio ereptum.*

[44] En tibi lector Hebraica Biblia latina planeque noua Sebast. Munsteri tralatione . . . Basileae 1534. The second volume, containing the Psalms, is dated the following year. I have used photostats of a copy in the Library of the University of Illinois.

Münster's Bible the Hebrew certainly lay under Coverdale's eyes.

"O how blessed are they" (line 6 f.), is, as we have seen, a translation of the Zurich reading. In the Great Bible we merely have "Blessed are they." Münster probably gave the impulse for this. His reading, *beati qui habitant*, is also that of the Vulgate.

The same may be said of the Great Bible, "wilbe alwaye praysinge the" (Münster Vulgate *laudabunt*) in place of "are alwaye praysinge the" (line 7 f.); "Blessed is that man" (Münster *felix ille homo*: Vulgate *beatus uir*) in place of "Blessed are the men" (line 8); "will go" (Münster Vulgate *ibunt*) in place of "go" (line 11). In the last case, Coverdale was not drawn to imitate in its entirety Münster's unusual translation, *ibunt de caterua ad cateruam.*

Coverdale abandoned a striking feature of his original Psalter in the phrase, "and so the God of Gods appeareth unto them in Sion" (line 11 f.). This had substantial precedent in the Vulgate, Pagnini, the Zurich version, though as we have seen in an earlier discussion the Masoretic text is against it. In the Great Bible we have: "and unto the God of Goddes appeareth every one of them in Sion." In its alterations this is a close translation of Münster, *comparebitque* (*quisque eorum*) *apud deum in Zion.*

"In the tentes of the ungodly" (line 17) becomes "in the tentes of ungodlynesse," which corresponds to Münster, *in tabernaculis impietatis.*

Münster's influence, as revealed in a single Psalm, is surprisingly great. It emphasizes Coverdale's reliance upon his predecessors. Has the learned character of his new sources so impressed the reviser as to detract from the lively quality of his earlier work? Only an extensive comparison could warrant a positive reply. Happily, Coverdale survives without major transformation. The King James Version is a more reliable key to the Hebrew; but Protestant scholars of the highest competency agree in preferring the Prayer Book Psalter for religious use.[45]

[45] Westcott, General View, pp. 199 and 280; Kenyon, Our Bible and the Ancient Manuscripts, p. 224.

Conclusion

Coverdale, after the prodigious Luther, was notably successful in making the vernacular Bible a book for everyman. His version was cleared, at least in appearance, of the difficulties of ancient writings in ancient tongues, and laudably free from new ones created by a learned style. It is an indirect translation, and was bound to be superseded; but it made an important contribution to the King James Version itself. It was to live on in the Psalter of the Book of Common Prayer, a graceful survival of good Tudor English, and a valuable heirloom of the rising Reformation.[46]

[46] Conclusion of this study affords the writer welcome opportunity of acknowledging the favors he has for some time enjoyed as a guest scholar at the University of Michigan. In particular, he offers his gratitude to the many members of the Library Staff who have assisted him. Miss Margaret I. Smith, Chief Reference Librarian, and Miss Ella M. Hymans, Curator of Rare Books, have each had a special share in this collaboration.

A NOTE ON MATTHEW 6:33

The first half of Matthew 6:33 presents a difficult problem to the textual critic, and the leading editors of the New Testament have solved it in different ways. The textual authorities offer several variant readings, but none of them is satisfactory from every point of view. However, it is possible by means of a highly plausible conjecture to obtain a text which makes excellent sense.

The most primitive of the *variae lectiones* is found in Codex Sinaiticus and a few other authorities, and it runs thus: *ζητεῖτε δὲ πρῶτον τὴν βασιλείαν καὶ τὴν δικαιοσύνην αὐτοῦ*.[1] Codex Vaticanus inverts the order of the substantives and reads as follows: *ζητεῖτε δὲ πρῶτον τὴν δικαιοσύνην καὶ τὴν βασιλείαν αὐτοῦ*. This eccentric variant occurs in no other Greek manuscript, and it is not attested by any ancient version or patristic writer. It cannot be regarded as the original text. On the contrary it seems to have been introduced at an early date as an improvement upon the reading which is preserved in Codex Sinaiticus. This may be another indication that Codex Vaticanus contains a text which has been revised at least in certain places.

The third *varia lectio* is supported by more textual authorities than either of the preceding, but it is clearly secondary in character. It runs thus: *ζητεῖτε δὲ πρῶτον τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τὴν δικαιοσύνην αὐτοῦ*.[2] This is obviously the result of an early attempt to improve the reading found in Codex Sinaiticus by inserting *τοῦ θεοῦ* after *τὴν βασιλείαν*. It is 'Western' in origin, and it was adopted by the revisers who made the Byzantine text about the middle of the fourth century. A few witnesses read *τῶν οὐρανῶν* instead of *τοῦ θεοῦ* after *τὴν βασιλείαν*.[3] *Τῶν οὐρανῶν* is much more in accordance with the usage of Matthew than *τοῦ θεοῦ*,[4] but it is quite as clearly a correction of the text as the latter. The Sahidic, Bohairic, and Ethiopic versions and the Syrian homilist Aphraates have *his kingdom and his righteousness*, but this variant certainly cannot be considered to be original.

[1] ℵ *g*[2] *k l m* (*semel*) *vg.* (3 MSS) Tert. Cyp. Aug.

[2] E G K L M S U V Δ Θ Π minusc. pler. *a b c f ff*[1] *g*[1] *h m* (*semel*) *aur. vg.* (pler. et WW) Syr. cur. pesh. hl. hier. Geo. Aug. Hil.

[3] 301 Clem. (*bis*) Iust.

[4] According to the texts of Westcott and Hort and von Soden *βασιλεία τῶν οὐρανῶν* occurs 32 times and *βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ* only 4 times in Matthew. According to Tregelles and Tischendorf the ratio is 33 to 3.

The Textus Receptus, as one would naturally expect, has Matthew 6:33 in the Byzantine form. It thus agrees with the reading which is preserved in nearly all Greek manuscripts except Codex Vaticanus and Codex Sinaiticus. This variant was accepted by the following critical editors: Griesbach, Scholz, Tregelles,[5] von Soden, and Vogels. On the other hand these scholars follow Codex Sinaiticus: Tischendorf, Westcott and Hort, the English Revisers of 1881, and Baljon. Only two, viz. Lachmann and B. Weiss, have adopted the variant offered by Codex Vaticanus.[6] No editor has incorporated either of the minor readings into his text.[7] The choice lies between the first and the second of these major *variae lectiones*, and the present writer thinks that the second gives the clue to the solution of the problem. None of the others, as was pointed out above, commends itself as the original text of Matthew 6:33.

The most primitive reading, as has already been said, is that of Codex Sinaiticus, viz. *ζητεῖτε δὲ πρῶτον τὴν βασιλείαν καὶ τὴν δικαιοσύνην αὐτοῦ*. Although he prefers this to the other variants, Wellhausen has raised three objections to it: (1) the designation of God by means of the pronoun *αὐτοῦ*, which must refer to the heavenly Father mentioned in the preceding verse; (2) the combination of two *status constructi* before a genitive; and (3) the Pauline idea of the righteousness of God. In order to relieve the difficulty, Wellhausen would omit *αὐτοῦ* in translating the sentence.[8] But this is a drastic solution of the problem, and it certainly cannot be accepted as satisfactory.

All the objections urged by Wellhausen can be successfully met, if we assume a slight and not unnatural misunderstanding of the Aramaic original on the part of the person who translated the sentence into Greek. In Aramaic the first half of Matthew 6:33 probably read thus: בעו למלכותא וצדקותה בקדמיתא. The pronominal suffix in צדקותה is feminine (ה_ = *αὐτῆς*), and it refers to מלכותא. The translator mistook it for the masculine pronominal suffix (ה.. = *αὐτοῦ*), thinking that its antecedent was the heavenly Father mentioned in

[5] It should be noted that Tregelles did not have access to Codex Sinaiticus until he had almost finished his work on the four Gospels.

[6] Lachmann published his edition before the discovery of the New Testament part of Codex Sinaiticus.

[7] I.e. *τῶν οὐρανῶν* instead of *τοῦ θεοῦ* after *τὴν βασιλείαν* and *his kingdom and his righteousness*.

[8] Cf. J. Wellhausen, Das Evangelium Matthaei (second ed., Berlin, 1914), p. 29. Wellhausen himself calls this expedient only a "Notbehelf."

the preceding verse.[9] It was easy to make this mistake in reading an unpointed Aramaic text. The sentence should have been translated into Greek thus: *ζητεῖτε δὲ πρῶτον τὴν βασιλείαν καὶ τὴν δικαιοσύνην αὐτῆς.*[10] *Τὴν βασιλείαν* is of course the kingdom of Heaven, i.e. the reign or rule of God. The absence of *τῶν οὐρανῶν* or *τοῦ θεοῦ* after *τὴν βασιλείαν* need cause no surprise, for the substantive *βασιλεία* is used several times by Matthew without either of these qualifying genitives to denote the rule of God.[11] *Τὴν δικαιοσύνην* is the righteousness which belongs to and is characteristic of the divine rule both in heaven and on earth.

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[9] A similar misunderstanding of an Aramaic pronominal suffix seems to have given rise to the reading *αὐτοῦ* in Luke 2: 22. See W. H. P. Hatch in The Harvard Theological Review, XIV, pp. 377 ff.

[10] The particle *δέ* is due to the translator.

[11] Cf. e.g. Matt. 4: 23; 8: 12; 9: 35; 13: 19; and 24: 14.

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Conservation of Scholarly Journals

The American Library Association created this last year the Committee on Aid to Libraries in War Areas, headed by John T. Russell, the Librarian of the University of Rochester. The Committee is faced with numerous serious problems and hopes that American scholars and scientists will be of considerable aid in the solution of one of these problems.

One of the most difficult tasks in library reconstruction after the first World War was that of completing foreign institutional sets of American scholarly, scientific, and technical periodicals. The attempt to avoid a duplication of that situation is now the concern of the Committee.

Many sets of journals will be broken by the financial inability of the institutions to renew subscriptions. As far as possible they will be completed from a stock of periodicals being purchased by the Committee. Many more will have been broken through mail difficulties and loss of shipments, while still other sets will have disappeared in the destruction of libraries. The size of the eventual demand is impossible to estimate, but requests received by the Committee already give evidence that it will be enormous.

With an imminent paper shortage attempts are being made to collect old periodicals for pulp. Fearing this possible reduction in the already limited supply of scholarly and scientific journals, the Committee hopes to enlist the coöperation of subscribers to this journal in preventing the sacrifice of this type of material to the pulp demand. It is scarcely necessary to mention the appreciation of foreign institutions and scholars for this activity.

Questions concerning the project or concerning the value of particular periodicals to the project should be directed to Wayne M. Hartwell, Executive Assistant to the Committee on Aid to Libraries in War Areas, Rush Rhees Library, University of Rochester, Rochester, New York.

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CAMBRIDGE, MASS., U.S.A.